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The Science of Empire:

Bishop Martínez Compañón and the Enlightenment in Peru

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The Science of Empire:

Bishop Martínez Compañón and the Enlightenment in Peru

by

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Along the way I have met other *Peruvianistas* who have given me valuable suggestions. Rachel O'Toole quickly figured out how I would address one of the major

issues with the documentation for this project. I also extend a gracious thank you to Susan Ramírez, who has generously offered to share her Martínez Compañón documents with me. The foundation she has laid in her work on Trujillo has been invaluable for my own progress.

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Back in the US, Texans are known for their warm and friendly demeanor that is very similar to that of the Peruvians. Although not many of the friends I met in graduate school are from Texas, in many ways the sunny atmosphere seems to rub off on people. Heather Peterson and Larry Gutman are now close friends who I value in many ways. Frances Ramos has been a friend, ally, and mentor. Pablo Mijangos has (wisely) advised me on Mexico and on Bishops, and Chris Albi has become an impromptu writing partner. Ernie Capello and Mauricio Pajon were two friendly faces from Vassar in Austin, and they have both become good friends. I have been fortunate to also share friendship and fun times with Lauren Apter, Ken Aslakson, Karl Brown, Meredith Glueck, Michael Phillips, Kerry Webb and Jackie Zahn. As a young graduate student in the program, I benefited from discussions with Greg Cushman, Dan Hayworth, Russell Lohse, Doug Sofer, and Robert Smale.

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I have thought several times that since this project brings me full circle, from recalcitrant Catholic school student to scholar of a Catholic Bishop, it would be appropriate for me in some way to address God, or at least the Catholic church, in my acknowledgements. But as usual, I prefer to refrain from religion, and instead I dedicate *The Science of Empire* to Pedro Echevarri, Martínez Compañón's secretary – the infinitely patient man who wrote it all down.

The Science of Empire:

Bishop Martínez Compañón and the Enlightenment in Peru

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The Science of Empire is a cultural history of ideas that examines the science of empire in the eighteenth-century Hispanic World through studying the political economy reforms and natural history investigations of Bishop Martínez Compañón of Trujillo, Peru. Martínez Compañón was a model enlightened prelate who imagined reform initiatives in mining, city life, and education that would improve the lives of his diocesans and increase the profits they brought to the Spanish crown. My work shows how these reforms reflected the political economy theories of leading Enlightenment intellectuals from Spain and throughout Europe, especially in how they viewed commerce as an agent of civilization and sociability. At the same time, Martínez Compañón also created a large collection of natural and man-made specimens and artifacts, and created nine volumes of watercolor illustrations of the people, plants, and animals of Trujillo. These material and visual sources in order to show how his natural history reflected the same pragmatic ideologies as his political economy. When viewed as an organic whole, his efforts in Trujillo constitute a complete program of governance -- or a science of empire -- that was distinctly Hispanic, yet highly attuned to other imperial programs throughout the Atlantic world.

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Chapter One:

The Science of Empire in the Hispanic Enlightenment

Much of the historical literature on colonial Peru features brightly-colored and technically imperfect illustrations of daily life. The cover of David Cook's *Born to Die* shows an Indian languishing from smallpox. He lies on a reed mat in a simple hut of leaves hidden away in the forest, seemingly waiting for inevitable death. Marcos Cuetos' work *Saberes Andinos* features a rather frightening looking dentist pulling out a customer's tooth with a large pair of pliers while he holds onto his victim's long hair for leverage. Alejandro Reyes Flores' study of hacendados and merchants in Northern Peru displays a Spanish gentleman on horseback dressed in finery and carrying a lovely bunch of flowers. Most recently, Karen Graubart's *With Our Labor and Sweat* shows two Indians at work making chicha, the traditional fermented corn beverage of the Andes. [1] None of these authors, however, investigate the images they have chosen to represent their studies. Instead, the watercolors seem to be plucked from thin air. They are identified only as the work of Bishop Martínez Compañón of Trujillo, Peru. Why would a Bishop from a far-flung corner of the Spanish empire created such a detailed visual record of his diocese?

Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda was a Spanish prelate who lived and worked in the Northern diocese of Trujillo, Peru, from 1779 to 1790, commissioned them from local artisans. He conceived of them as part of a massive nine-volume set that depicted the people and resources of Trujillo. It was titled simply *Trujillo del Perú*. Curiously, the images were not accompanied by any explanatory text, other than the titles of their subjects. Although these nine volumes appeared to contain massive amounts of valuable information, for an unknown reason, once the King of Spain

[1] Works utilizing the Martínez Compañón images include: David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and the New World Conquest, 1492-1650* (Cambridge, 1998), John Fisher, *El Perú Borbónico*, Javier Flores trans. (Lima, 2000), Marcos Cueto, ed., *Saberes Andinos: ciencia y tecnología en Bolivia, Ecuador, y Peru* (Lima, 1995), Alejandro Reyes Flores, *Hacendados y Comerciantes: Piura, Chachapoyas, Moyobamba, Lamas, Maynas (1770-1820)* (Lima, 1999), Karen Graubart, *With our Labor and Sweat: Indigenous Women and the Formation of Society in Colonial Peru, 1550-1700* (Stanford, 2007).

Figure 1.1. Indian With Smallpox

Figure 1.2. Indian Having Molars Removed

Figure 1.3. Spaniard on Horseback

Figure 1.4. Indians Cooking Chicha

received them, they were simply stashed away in the royal library, never to see the light of day for hundreds of years. Why had such a priceless source of information been neglected for generations?

Martínez Compañón is the subject of two mid-twentieth century biographical studies,[2] a handful of articles and book chapters,[3] and a recent, comprehensive social and ecclesiastic history by Colombian historian Daniel Restrepo.[4] But again, the vast majority of these works pay little or no attention to the watercolor images that have become so ubiquitous as visual complements to studies of colonial Peru. The lack of interest in them was all the more surprising considering that in 1978, the Spanish Ministry of Culture published a lavish complete set of the nine volumes, which included indices and appendices of reproduced documents and scholarly articles.[5] Why has no one connected the Bishop and the natural historian who had commissioned this work?

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[2] José Manuel Peréz Ayala, *Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, Prelado Español de Colombia y el Peru* (Bogotá, 1955), Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Tres Figuras Señeras del Episcopado Americano* (Lima, 1966).

[3] These include, in chronological order: Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, "Un Manuscrito Colonial del Siglo XVIII," *Journal de la Societe des Americanistes* Number 27 (1935), Philip Ainsworth Means, "A Great Prelate and Archaeologist," in *Hispanic American Essays - A Memorial to James Alexander Robertson*, ed. A. Curtis WIlgus (Chapel Hill, 1942), Udo Oberem, "La Obra del Obispo don Baltasar Jaime Martinez Companon como Fuente para la Arquelogia del Peru Septentrional," *Revista de Indias* XIII (Abril-Septiembre, 1953, 1953), Ramon Gutierrez, Rodolfo Vallin and Mireya Muñoz, "Los Seminarios del Obispo Martínez Compañón en el Norte Peruano," *Historica* VIII (1984), Paz Cabello Carro, *Coleccionismo americano indigena en la Espana del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1989), Antón M. Pazos and Daniel Restrepo Manrique, "Acción de Martínez Compañón en Perú y Nueva Granada," in *Los Vascos y America - Ideas, Hechos, Hombres*, ed. Ignacio Pérez Arana (Madrid, 1990), et al J. Navarro, *Vida y Obra del Obispo Martínez Compañón* (Piura, 1991), Inge Schjellerup, ed., *Razón de las Especies de la Naturaleza del Arte del Obispado de Trujillo del Peru del Obispo D. Baltasar Martínez Compañón* (Trujillo, 1991), Banco Continental, *Crónica Gráfica del Obispo Martínez Compañon* (Trujillo, 1993), Raúl R. Romero, ed., *Música, danzas y máscaras en los Andes* (Lima, 1993), Armando Gómez Latorre, "Una Semblanza Historica: El Arzobispo Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda," *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* Number 786J (1994), Carlos Contreras, *Los Mineros y el rey: la economia colonial en los Andes del Norte: Hualgayoc 1770-1824* (Lima, 1995), Pilar Foz y Foz, *Mujer y Educación en Colombia, Siglos XVI-XIX. Aportaciones del colegio de La Enseñanza, 1783-1900.* (Santafé de Bogotá, 1997), Irma Franke, "Avifuna Norteña en las acuarelas de Martínez Compañón," (1997), Pablo Macera, "El Tiempo del Obispo Martínez Compañón," in *Trujillo del Peru - Baltazar Jaime Martínez Compañón - Acuarelas - Siglo XVIII* (Lima, 1997).

[4] Daniel Restrepo Manrique, *Sociedad y Religion en Trujillo (Peru), Bajo el Episcopado de Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, 1780-1790* (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1992).

[5] *La obra del Obispo Martínez Compañón sobre Trujillo del Peru en el Siglo XVIII*, Ediciones Cultural Hispánica del Centro Iberoamericáno de Cooperación (Madrid, 1978).

Furthermore, what would combining these two aspects of Martínez Compañón's career and interests reveal about the time and place in which he lived?

Situating the Science of Empire within the Age of Enlightenment

In the best of all possible worlds, almost any high school history student knows that the eighteenth century was the so-called "Age of Enlightenment." It was the time of radical politics: Charles Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* (1748,) Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762,) and Tom Paine's *Common Sense* (1776.) They should also know that these agendas were avant-garde for their day, especially the belief in the liberty of individual man and his right to participate in the state in which he lived, led to revolution; most notably in the British Colonies in 1776 and in France in 1789. Most high school students would also probably agree that France is the natural home of Enlightenment, the country where its ideas reached their fullest development. It was in France that Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert published the groundbreaking *Encyclopédie,* introducing the world to diverse curious topics ranging from the geography of distant California to the complicated anatomy of the hermaphrodite. For his part, François Voltaire argued that the ideal religious belief system would stand firmly against dogma but still offer moral guidance to men. Indeed, Voltaire came to spearhead a group of French philosphes who stipulated that philosophical awakening and participatory government could not exist in a society that was bound by dogmatic religious belief.

This is most often how students, and often how many scholars, understand "the" Enlightenment. Noticeably absent from this mainstream concept are the Catholic countries of Italy, Spain, and Austria. Put most plainly, the idea of Enlightenment as radical politics leaves no room for the Hispanic empire, which was at the time still ruled by a firm alliance between the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church. Such a perspective often leads to the unfortunate query that any student of the eighteenth-century Hispanic world is bound to confront at one point or another: *did the Hispanic Enlightenment exist?* How would it be possible to locate Martínez Compañón within the

history of ideas in the Age of Enlightenment, if so many scholars insisted that Enlightenment had not existed, or had barely survived, in the society in which he lived?[6]

The classic Spanish language historiography on the Enlightenment does little to confront this prejudice.[7] What exactly the Spanish Enlightenment was – if it was indeed anything – remains conflicted and mysterious. However, moving away from the most popular works on the topic and turning instead to more practical social histories provides a more nuanced explanation. R.J. Shafer's *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World*, *1762-1821,*[8] describes Hispanic Enlightenment culture as promoted by men who were both peninsular (born in Spain) and creole (Spanish born in America.) These groups worked together to improve education, share the latest agricultural techniques, and disseminate information through publishing useful periodicals. In their own way – a pragmatic, Catholic, absolutist way – they fostered a Hispanic Enlightenment in Spain and its overseas possessions. This perspective is most useful for providing a broader framework for Martínez Compañón's extraordinary political economy reforms in the

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[6] Many major works on the Enlightenment slight or completely ignore the Hispanic Enlightenment. The most egregious recent example of this practic is in Jonathan Israel's *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford, 2001.) Despite various claims about the necessity of including Spain and other "marginal" areas in studies of the Enlightenment, Israel addresses the Enlightenment in Spain and Portugal only in a separate chapter unfortunately entiteld "The Intellectual Drama in Spain and Portgual." Other notable recent works that overlook or short-change the Hispanic Enlightenment are Stephen Eric Bronner, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement* (New York, 2004), Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Roads to Modernity. The British, French, and American Enlightenments* (New York, 2004).

[7] Older generations of Spanish historians have in fact themselves propagated many of the most problematic aspects of our understanding of the Spanish Enlightenment. For example, in his gargantuan 1880 *Historia de los Heterodóxos Españoles*, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo dedicated only a few pages to the Enlightenment in Spain; implicitly assuming that very little happened, so there was not much to discuss. José Ortega y Gasset took a different emphasis in 1961, but still slighted the Spanish Enlightenment by positing that it was mainly characterized by its Francophone tendencies. This opinion corresponded to an argument first advanced in 1954 by French Hispanicist Jean Sarrailh, who claimed that Spain's Enlightenment was most notable for its deep connections to the French one and its relative "lateness" in the eighteenth century, which was due to the country's notorious resistance to new ideas. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles* (Madrid, 1880-1881.) José Ortega y Gassett *Obras Completa*s (Madrid, 2004.) Jean Sarrailh, *La España ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. (Mexico, 1957).

[8] R.J. Shafer, *The Economic Societies in the Spanish World, 1763-1821* (Syracuse, 1958).

realms of education, city life, and mining.[9] Shafer's work helps to illustrate how Martínez Compañón was not an isolated figure, a lunatic pointlessly toiling away at imported projects of improvement. Instead, he was part of a vibrant Enlightenment culture that was decidedly Hispanic in that it was firmly Catholic and politically conservative, yet at the same time receptive to designing practical reforms of political economy that echoed various efforts of enlightened reformers throughout the Atlantic world. In terms of political economy, Martinez Compañón was fully situated within the dominant trends of the late-eighteenth-century in Spain.

But these political economy reforms were only half of the story. Beginning as early as the sixteenth century, the Spanish crown fostered a vibrant scientific culture that was mainly centered on the then-dominant discipline of natural history.[10] Serving as an umbrella term of sorts, natural history encompassed botany, zoology, geography, ethnography, archaeology; all of what are known today as the "soft" sciences. And as it is for any science in any cultural context, natural history in Bourbon Spain was a political endeavor. Spanish scientists were essentially crown functionaries. Their investigations of natural resources and potential commercial goods could also be harnessed to address Spain's economic and political woes, mainly a sharp economic downturn, population loss, and overseas military encroachment from the British.[11]

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[9] The use of the term "political economy," rather than simply "economic policy," suggests a more complex agenda from which to govern the economy of a state based on utilizing the resources of labor, production, commerce, and technology.

[10] For the sixteenth-century roots of Spain's imperial science, see Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: the Spanish American Empire and the early Scientific Revolution* (Austin, 2006).

[11] See Antonio Lafuente and Jose Sala Catala, ed., *Ciencia Colonial en America* (Madrid, 1992), Susan Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: the Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin, 1992) Antonio Lafuente, "Enlightenment in an Imperial Context: Local Science in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Hispanic World," *Osiris* 15 (2000), Antonio Lafuente and Nuria Valverde, "Linnaen Botany and Spanish Imperial Biopolitics," in *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, ed. Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan (Philadelphia, 2005), Joaquin Fernandez Perez, Ignacio Gonzalez Tascon, ed., *Ciencia, Tecnica y estado en la Espana Ilustrada* (Zaragosa, 1990), Francisco Javier Puerto Sarmiento, *La Ilusión Quebrada. Botánica, sanidad y política científica en la España Ilustrada* (Madrid, 1988), Manuel Selles, Jose Luis Peset and Antonio Lafuente, ed., *Carlos III y la Ciencia de la Ilustracion* (Madrid, 1988).

Even though Martínez Compañón served the Crown as a Bishop and not as the director of a museum or the leader of scientific expedition, his scientific investigations were part of the same pragmatic program. His three volumes worth of botanical illustrations and the many boxes of botanical specimens he sent to Spain in his natural history collections of 1789 indicated that he understood the commercial and political value of plants as cures and as commercial crops. His ethnographic and archaeological investigations demonstrated deep interest in these key arenas of Spanish Enlightenment science.

Martinez Compañón, then, is representative of the Hispanic Enlightenment in both its key manifestations: reforms in political economy and investigation in natural history. As he attempted to reform education, mining, and city life, he represented Spain's political economists. These included his fellow members of the Basque Economic Society; the crown-sponsored reformers on the Spanish peninsula, like Gaspar Jovellanos and Pedro Campomanes; and the larger group of reforming prelates working in Spanish America, such as Francisco Lorenzana and Antonio Caballero y Góngora. At the same time, the breadth and depth of his natural history work linked Martínez Compañón to the world of natural history – epitomized by scientific expeditions such as the Ruiz and Pavón expedition to Peru, Spanish scientists like José Mutis of Colombia (who would later become his personal friend), and other natural historians, such as José Eusebio Llano Zapata and José Antonio Alzate.

In this study, Martinez Compañón serves as pivot point from which to explore the culture of Enlightenment in the Hispanic World. Although he himself felt no need to label his work as such, "the science of empire" is a fitting descriptive term for his wide-ranging agenda. It encompasses all of Martinez Compañón's efforts during his eleven years in Trujillo. "The science of empire" suggests how the Bishop's imperial science employed both the ideas of enlightened reformers and the rational investigative methods of eighteenth-century scientists. It was a broad and complete program in which he catalogued, analyzed, and transformed the people and the nature of Trujillo in order to produce and sustain social order and economic prosperity in this distant region of the Spanish empire.

Framing the Bishop's work in this way helps us to understand the Hispanic Enlightenment as a pragmatic political and scientific program that sought to foster public happiness in Spain and its overseas kingdoms through gathering processing, and employing useful information. Using Martínez Compañón as the central figure of this study also highlights how the Hispanic Enlightenment was exceptional. Instead of fostering fissures between the Church and the secular government, in Spain the main figures of the Enlightenment were closely allied with both the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church. It was through this allegiance that they maintained a culture of Enlightenment that was suited to absolutist government and Catholic religion; and at the same time managed to engage with the culture of improvement that flourished throughout the Atlantic world in the eighteenth century.

Sources and Methods

The Science of Empire works within an unusually rich and diverse set of sources. The related archival records include thousands of pages of decrees from the Bishop's unprecedented *visita* or exploratory journey throughout his diocese of Trujillo (1782-1785), pastoral letters, and communications with Viceroys, Intendants, and members of the Council of the Indies. These documents are held in ecclesiastical and secular archives in Lima and Trujillo, Peru, as well as Bogotá.[12] While the vast majority of them have been utilized in previous studies of the Bishop, the Archivo General in Lima houses

[12] Research for *The Science of Empire* first brought me to the Archivo Nacional of Colombia in Bogotá. This is where the largest cache of Martínez Compañón documents is held, because when he was promoted to Archbishop of Bogotá he brought with him a complete copied set of his personal papers. I also visited the Biblioteca Nacional, where I found copies of the various orations given at Martínez Compañón's funeral. In Lima, I visited the Archivo General de Perú, where I found the personal correspondence with the Querejazu family, as well as the Archivo Arzobispal, and the Archivo del Cabildo Eclesiástico. In Trujillo, I worked in both the Archivo Arzobispal and the Archivo Regional de la Libertad. Finally, I traveled to Spain, where I found documents relating to the natural history collections in the Archivo General de Indias of Sevilla. In manuscript revision stages, I plan to return to Trujillo in order to work in the notarial archives of the Archivo Regional, where I hope to find account books for Martínez Compañón's *visita* which will reveal the identity of the artisans with whom he worked through listing their last names. I also plan to return to Spain and work in various Basque archives. My preliminary thoughts about this are included in my conclusion in chapter six.

a previously unused set of personal correspondence of the Bishop with an Audiencia judge and his son. These help to portray the Bishop as a man who, in addition to founding fifty-two primary schools and compiling twenty-four boxes of natural history items, sometimes needed the advice of his friends, often worried over the quality and outcome of his projects, and occasionally longed for the cosmopolitan comforts he had enjoyed in Spain and in Lima.

The rest of my documentation is not so standard. Perhaps this is why it has not been given its due in the majority of the existing work on Martínez Compañón.[13] First, there are the nine volumes of watercolors called *Trujillo del Perú*. *The Science of Empire* uses them not as textbook illustrations but as historical documents in and of themselves. These are an extraordinary source of information on late colonial Peru, one that is still employed today by archaeologists, ethnomusicologists and anthropologists.[14] While the images are delightful to work with, they also present challenges. The most problematic is how little definitive information we have about their creation. Scholars typically assume that Martínez Compañón commissioned a set of watercolors and that various local artisans contributed to their creation. The sheer number of images – nine entire books' worth, with a total of 1,372 illustrations – suggests that there is no way Martínez Compañón could have specified each plant, burial tomb, or Indian costume he wanted portrayed. More likely is that the watercolors originate from Martinez Compañón's *visita;* both by direct observations by the team of unnamed assistants who accompanied him,

[13] There are, naturally, some notable exceptions. Works that do take the watercolors seriously are Ballesteros Gaibrois, "Un Manuscrito Colonial del Siglo XVIII.", Continental, *Crónica Gráfica del Obispo Martínez Compañon*, Franke, "Avifuna Norteña en las acuarelas de Martínez Compañón", Arturo Jiménez Borja, "Arte popular en Martínez Compañón," in *Trujillo del Peru - Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón - Acuarelas - Siglo XVIII* (1997), Macera, "El Tiempo del Obispo Martínez Compañón.", Pablo Macera, Arturo Jimenez Borja, Irma Franke, ed., *Trujillo del Peru - Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón Acuarelas, Siglo XVIII* (Lima, 1997), Romero, ed., *Música, danzas y máscaras en los Andes*, Schjellerup, ed., *Razón de las Especies de la Naturaleza del Arte del Obispado de Trujillo del Peru del Obispo D. Baltasar Martínez Compañón*. However, most of these works do not sufficiently locate the natural history images within the context of the Hispanic Enlightenment.

[14] These include Romero, ed., *Música, danzas y máscaras en los Andes*, R. Stevenson, *The Music of Peru. Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs.* (Washington D.C., 1959), Cabello Carro, *Coleccionismo americano indigena en la Espana del siglo XVIII*, Paz Cabello, *Museo de America* (Madrid, 1984).

and by second-hand information provided by parish priests in response to the natural history questionnaire the Bishop distributed to them. Another problem with the images is their unconventional style. Except for some of the maps, plans, and images of archaeological ruins, the majority of these images appear to have been executed by individuals with little or no European artistic training. The artisans omit important details in plant anatomy, and the representation of the human figure is often awkward at best. Who made them this way and why is this important? Often, art historians of colonial Spanish America believe that unsigned images indicate that the individuals who created them were indigenous, i.e. not considered "true" artists worthy of immemorialization.[15] Many of them manifest the characteristics of what Bolivian art historian Teresa Gisbert has termed "Andean Baroque:" a lack of sophisticated use of shadowing, little understanding of perspective, repetitive forms, and a general movement away from realism.[16]

The excellent literature on the Enlightenment in Spanish America and the so-called creole patriots (including *How to Write the History of the New World*, as well as David Brading and Antonello Gerbi's contributions on the eighteenth-century debate over the inferiority of the people and nature of America) leads to several intriguing possibilities for the Trujillo watercolors. Was it possible that Martínez Compañón specifically chose to use Indians from Trujillo as his collaborators so that he could prove to the King, his court, and the Atlantic scientific community that they were equal to other men? He certainly spoke of his native parishioners within these parameters, writing "the Indians are not how those stupid men wish to portray them," and chiding those who "mistake them with beasts to the point of downgrading them from being human." The Indians were not inherently different due to natural causes, he argued. Rather, they had lived under the repressive Inca regime, they had learned bad habits and vices from their Spanish

[15] See especially chapter four of Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C., 1999).
[16] Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y mitas indígenas en el arte* (La Paz, 1994), 104.

neighbors, and they had not been properly educated or introduced to civil life. [17] For the Bishop, these were all circumstantial causes for difference. He was so sure of this that he informed the King of Spain that "the Indians are equal, or very little different to the other men of their *calidad* [or socio-cultural status] in this area."[18]

Given the tone of these statements, it seemed that proving that the artisans for the nine volumes were Indians could definitively link Martínez Compañón to other eighteenth-century defenders of America's Indians, such as Juan Ignacio de Molina, Francisco Javier Clavijero, and Antonio de Leon y Gama.[19] This would be an especially meaningful contribution to our knowledge considering David Brading's assertion of "the failure of any Peruvian Jesuit or Limeño intellectual to enter the debate over America."[20] However, no documentary evidence definitively established the native identity of the artisans. Arguments about the style of the images, Martínez Compañón's statements about native peoples, and the iconographical links between his work and that of other Basques in America who were known to have employed native informants and illustrators were clues but did not provide sufficiently definitive evidence.[21]

To return to the sources, another set of "non-traditional" materials comes from Martínez Compañón's natural history collections. When he sent twenty-four boxes to Spain in 1788, he included animals, botanical specimens and native cures (such as a butter made from lizard fat, which he claimed the Indians used to cure pain.) He also sent curiosities like silk flowers handcrafted by the Carmelite nuns of Trujillo, and a collection of stuffed birds, which he proudly boasted contained one of almost every species in the bishopric. The birds, unfortunately, molded and had to be thrown away

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[17] "Martínez Compañón to Don Juan José Urteaga, Cura y Vicario de la Provincia de Chachapoyas," Trujillo, 26 June 1785. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades 1, Erección y fundación de dos colegios de cholos y cholas en Trujillo.

[18] "Martínez Compañón to the King of Spain, Trujillo, 15 May 1786." Trujillo: Archivo Arzopbispal, Colegios y Universidades, Erección y fundación de dos colegios de cholos y cholas en Trujillo.

[19] See especially chapter twenty of David Brading, *The First America - The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge, 1991).

[20] Ibid, 449.

[21] But my advisors suggested I abandon this search, at least for now. In the future, I hope that additional research in the notarial archives of Trujillo will list the names of those who Martínez Compañón paid during the time of his *visita*, and for what. It is my hope that this evidence might allow me to confirm the racial and ethnic identity of the illustrators.

before the boxes left Peru. In the end, the rest of the collection met a similarly sad demise, which is discussed in greater detail in chapter four. With the notable exception of a few pottery pieces held in Madrid's Museo de America,[22] the objects from the collection have not survived, and we know of them today only through an extensive inventory housed in the Archive of the Indies.[23]

All of this written and visual information produced an unusual, and potentially problematic, conundrum: the Martínez Compañón sources were rich with words without images and images without words. How to incorporate these diverse aspects of Martínez Compañón's natural history research into a bigger study that likewise considered his political economy reforms in order to present him as a representative of the Hispanic Enlightenment? With no definitive set of guidelines, *The Science of Empire* employs an organically grown multi-disciplinary approach that combines decrees, personal letters, the inventory, and the images. It contextualizes these sources through reading deeply in colonial history, botany, ethnohistory, and even folklore.

Historiographical Connections

When most scholars think of late eighteenth-century Peru, they think of the Tupac Amaru, Tupac Katari, and Thomas Katari Indian rebellions. These took place in the Southern regions of Cuzco and the Bolivian altiplano. In these areas, many indigenous communities found that the tribute and labor demands of local Spanish officials were too burdensome. They also believed that magistrates and administrators were corrupt and greedy individuals who were more concerned with their own self-interest than with following the orders of the King of Spain. The Spanish responded harshly to the rebellions, and the resulting clampdown cast a dark shadow over the final years of Spanish rule in Peru.

[22] For a discussion of these, see Cabello, *Museo de America*.
[23] Martínez Compañón to Antonio Porlier, Trujillo, 2 December 1788," Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 978. Cartas y Expedientes: Curiosidades para el Jardín Botánico.

These rebellions have been well analyzed in works by Sergio Serulnikov, Ward Stavig, and Charles Walker.[24] While these studies are all valuable contributions to our historical understanding of the period, they have unfortunately engendered a somewhat myopic understanding of the time and place. In fact, the Indian-Spanish dynamic was not uniformly explosive throughout the Peru of the 1780s. In Trujillo, hundreds of miles to the North, the situation was markedly different. The main factors that had incited rebellion to the South were not as troublesome there. For instance, a common complaint of the Tupac Amaru rebels was increased tribute. By the 1780s, tribute demands in Trujillo were simply not as high.[25] Furthermore, although Trujillo did have its own uprisings, they never grew to the levels of violence experienced in the South. Martínez Compañón must have realized that there were several small-scale rebellions and revolts in the 1770s in Trujillo,[26] and only months after he assumed his bishopric; he faced a small scale uprising in the town of Otusco, which he deftly pacified.[27] He likely had these facts in mind when he declared that parishioners would no longer owe to their parish priest *camarico*, or tribute in goods wherein one Indian from each *ayllu* or kinship group would be responsible for collecting food, hens, wood, or the like; or personal service.[28] By eliminating this source of tension between clerics and local native groups, Martinez Compañón helped to foster a less exploitive relationship between priests and their native parishioners.

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[24] Dominant works in English are Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority - Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes* (Durham and London, 2003), Ward Stavig, *The World of Túpac Amaru - Conflict, Community, and Identity in Colonial Peru* (Lincoln, 1999), Charles Walker, *Smoldering Ashes: Cuzco and the Creation of Republican Peru, 1780-1840.* (Durham, 1999). Other studies that include the rebellions are Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y utopia en los Andes* (Lima, 1987), Charles Walker, "Voces discordantes: Discursos alternativos sobre el indio a fines de la colonia," in *Entre la retórica y la insurgncia: las ideas y los movimientos sociales en los Andes, siglo XVIII*, ed. Charles Walker (Cuzco, 1996).

[25] Contreras, *Los Mineros y el rey: la economia colonial en los Andes del Norte: Hualgayoc 1770-1824*, chapter 3.

[26] These are presented in the excellent work of Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru* (Koln, Germany, 1984), Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, and Yves Saint-Geours, ed., *El Norte en la Historia Regional, Siglox XVIII-XIX* (Lima, 1998), Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, ed., *El Perú en el siglo XVIII - La Era Borbónica* (Lima, 1999).

[27] This is discussed in the subsequent chapter.

[28] O'Phelan Godoy, *Rebellions and Revolts in Eighteenth-Century Peru and Upper Peru,* 46.

Furthermore, the notorious *repartimiento de bienes* (forced sale of goods) was much lower in Trujillo than elsewhere in Peru. Instead of being forced to purchase useless luxury items like eyeglasses and silk stockings, *repartimiento* laws coerced Indians to buy goods they actually needed.[29] All of this meant that the overall situation in Trujillo was remarkably different from the volatile climate of the central Peruvian regions in the 1780s. In Trujillo, relative calm and peace – which was particularly noteworthy during Martínez Compañón's tenure[30]-- created a collaborative environment wherein many of the plebe welcomed and encouraged the Bishop's reforms – at least on paper.

In addition to this dialogue with the historiography of colonial Peru*, The Science of Empire* connects with a much broader historiography that extends far beyond Spain and its kingdoms, to the entire Atlantic world. Many of the themes explored in *The Science of Empire* are inherently "Atlantic:" encounters between Europeans and natives, bureaucratic networks, intellectual life in the colonies, images of America in the European imagination, and cultures of reform in the late-eighteenth century.[31] Although Peru's miles of coastline lie on the Pacific and not the Atlantic Ocean, to arrive at his final destination, Martínez Compañón made the same-transatlantic crossing as millions of Europeans and Africans.

The Science of Empire employs the "cis-Atlantic approach"[32] to Atlantic history. It examines a specific location (Trujillo and Peru) using an Atlantic world framework and making connections to other Atlantic societies. This approach is especially useful in chapter three, where the linking of Martínez Compañón's political economy reforms to similar efforts in education and agricultural reform demonstrates how the Hispanic world was, in fact, a vibrant part of the Atlantic-wide "culture of improvement" of the age of Enlightenment. For instance, Martínez Compañón's efforts to educate and "Hispanicize"

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[29] Contreras, *Los Mineros y el rey: la economia colonial en los Andes del Norte: Hualgayoc 1770-1824*, 94.
[30] O'Phelan Godoy, "El Norte y las revuletas anticlericales del Siglo XVIII." *Historia y Cultura* 12 (1979).
[31] Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History. Concepts and Countours.* (Cambridge, 2005).
[32] Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111 (June, 2006).

Indian children are remarkably similar to the contemporary "civilization" efforts of Thomas Jefferson in the new United States.

This study of Martínez Compañón and the Hispanic Enlightenment also links to a number of works focusing on the history of imperial science in the Atlantic World. These include studies by Lucile Brockway, Richard Drayton, Lisbet Koerner, Richard Grove, Londa Schiebinger, and Emma Spary. These works demonstrate the intimate and complex relationship between plants, politics, and power in the eighteenth-century Atlantic. They show how Sweden, England, and France understood botany as an economic force that could generate fortunes for their governments. At the same time, they illustrate the complex relationship that developed between the colonialist seeking and cataloging information and the colonial providing it. *The Science of Empire* considers this scientific relationship as key to understanding how the Spanish epistemology of imperial science was different. Like many of his predecessors and colleagues, Martínez Compañón worked closely with and relied upon the knowledge of his local, often indigenous informants. But instead of translating their information into a universal naming system based on Latin and disregarding the original sources of his data, he worked within and appreciated native epistemologies. Londa Schiebinger's concept of a "bio-contact" zone best illustrates this European-native scientific collaboration, which was unique in the Atlantic world.

Introduction to The Chapters

The subsequent chapter, "Bourbon Bishop, Imperial Scientist," establishes Martínez Compañón as a model Bourbon prelate, a man who was concerned with the spiritual welfare of his diocesans, but was also a dedicated reformer in the Bourbon tradition. It considers the genesis of his imperial science through examining his early life and career. The chapter also provides a detailed introduction to the history of colonial Trujillo. Finally, it uses the personal letters from Lima in order to offer a rare glimpse of Martinez Compañón's private personality, his doubts, fears, and concerns.

Chapter three, "Martínez Compañón's Practical Utopia," examines the political economy of the Bishop's imperial science. It begins with a consideration of his quotidian

reform efforts, such as his decrees on appropriate dress, his prescriptions for suitable amusements, and his recommendations for civilized family life. It links these concerns to European notions of instilling sociability in the plebe through proper manners and a carefully supervised imitation of elite social niceties. Section two of this chapter focuses on the Bishop's efforts to revive the flagging finances of the Hualgayoc silver mine in Cajamarca. Instead of resorting to the *mita*, Martínez Compañón imagined that the cold, wet, rugged terrain of Cajamarca could foster a utopian community where workers would be given plots of land and farming implements in exchange for labor at the mine. The chapter then turns to the Bishop's various education efforts, which included town primary schools in addition to special schools for Indians and girls. The chapter also highlights the importance of the language of reform. On the surface, some aspects of the Bishop's reform efforts seem to reflect the exploitive policies of the Spanish crown in the early colonial period, such as the forced Indian settlements known as reductions and the compulsory purchasing of goods called the *repartimiento*. But while sixteenth-century reformers often achieved results through force and coercion, Martínez Compañón's plans were strictly voluntary: he asked the people of Trujillo how he could help them, envisioned agendas according to their input, and then invited them to participate in the projects he created. This gentler approach reflects the Bishop's conception of the role of commerce and trade as promoting sociability and progress, a prominent idea in the work of leading Enlightenment intellectuals like David Hume, Adam Smith, and Charles Montesquieu.

Chapter four, "Bio-Contact ones in Hispanic Imperial Science," borrows the notion of a bio-contact zone from the work of Londa Schiebinger and uses it to explore how the Bishop collaborated with local informants in compiling an extensive body of botanical data on Northern Peru. The main analytical work of the chapter is a cross reading of the three volumes of botanical images from Martínez Compañón's watercolors and the inventory of his botanical collections. Every leaf, flower, blossom, and stem included had a practical purpose that contributed to the Bishop's science of empire. For instance, native plants could be marketed as local substitutes for commercially valuable products like cacao, tea, and silk. Several species locals used to

cure what the Bishop politely referred to as “French Disease” had obvious market value as well. Such profitable plants fit neatly within Martínez Compañón’s science of empire because they offered the Spanish crown financial gain as well as the public prestige associated with advancing medical knowledge.

This chapter also explores how Martínez Compañón’s use of local informants situates him within a Hispanic tradition of information-sharing that began almost immediately after the Spanish arrived in America. While the Bishop’s collaboration was partially born of necessity, it also served a political purpose in displaying the sophisticated botanical and medical knowledge of the Peruvians. Martínez Compañón’s decision to use native Peruvian names instead of Linnaean ones for the plants described and depicted in his work highlights his confidence in the local naming system.

Chapter five, “Imagining the Best of All Possible Worlds in Trujillo” moves away from botanical investigations to consider the other main aspect of the Bishop’s natural history: his assessment of quotidian life in Trujillo. Instead of featuring the stereotypical or curious images that were popular at the time, these watercolors depict the people of Trujillo engaged in work, and leisure. Indians play cards like proper Europeans. Children amuse themselves at games mimicking farming. Women assist their husbands in the fields and work in textile production. The images depict vices like alcohol use in a distinctly euphemistic fashion. These orderly, productive subjects are Martínez Compañón’s vision of Trujillo come to life. The illustrations serve as a vivid example of how they lived under the Spanish science of empire, and how the programs of the Bourbon reforms succeeded in “enlightening” them.

Throughout, *The Science of Empire*, addresses the complex legacy of Martínez Compañón’s projects. First, it considers what it means to study “failed” projects. The Bishop’s reforms never materialized, and his natural history work remained unpublished. This was by no means exceptional in the Hispanic world, yet historians who compare these efforts to those made under better-funded colonial administrations, or imperial cultures that placed more emphasis on the circulation of published texts might consider these issues as failures or weaknesses. Yet often historians can learn more from ostensibly “failed” projects than from successful ones. Looking beyond the years of

Spanish colonial rule of America, past the wars for independence and into the long-nineteenth-century, it is apparent that many of the same initiatives Martínez Compañón proposed, such as extending public education, were fundamental to the founding agendas of the new Spanish American nations. Exploring Martínez Compañón's career elaborates how the roots of the nineteenth-century liberal reforms lie in the eighteenth-century Bourbon agenda. Extending a gaze North of Peru, into Mexico, Spain, Italy, and even Austria, reveals that the political economy of the Atlantic world in the age of Enlightenment had successes and failures *wherever* men imagined how to improve the public good. The enlightened reformers of the Hispanic world were not alone in sometimes envisioning untenable improvements. Their political economy efforts might not have directly toppled monarchies or created a widespread culture of literacy. Their natural history work may not have been as influential as that of Carl Linnaeus or Comte de Buffon. Nevertheless, Martínez Compañón and Spain's imperial scientists operated within the paradigms of Enlightenment in the Atlantic world, creating a science that sustained an empire through a global period of rebellion, revolution, and turmoil in the late eighteenth-century.

Figure 1.5. Martínez Compañón, from Volume One of *Trujillo del Perú*

Chapter Two:

Bourbon Bishop, Imperial Scientist

I am persuaded that within this diocese we have much more than what we imagine, and that a distinct and thorough knowledge of it could be of great utility.
- Pastoral Letter of Bishop Martínez Compañón to the Parish Priests of Trujillo, 1782[33]

Like anyone who crossed the Atlantic and came to America, Spanish ecclesiastics brought with them preconceived notions about life overseas. Some eagerly anticipated the challenges of their new posts, energized by the opportunity to work with America's Indians or to exercise greater independence from the peninsular church hierarchy. Others feared a lack of institutional support from civil and ecclesiastic authorities, or complained of the smaller remunerations they received for their efforts.[34] They worried that once they left the metropolitan centers of Spain; they would sorely miss the intellectual exchange and social niceties they had enjoyed there. Thirty-year-old Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón must have had some of these same reservations on his mind that October morning in 1767 when he had his last glimpse of the Cadiz docks from the deck of the ship that was to be his home for the next ten months. However, he must have also felt enthusiasm and excitement for the challenges that lay ahead, especially regarding his upcoming work with Peru's indigenous population. Indeed, his writings reveal a long-standing interest in promoting the welfare of the indigenous peoples of America through using the resources of his intellect and the power of his ecclesiastical posts. Later writing to King Charles III, he admitted that like many learned Spaniards, as a young man on the peninsula, he had "read and heard about the misfortunes and

[33] "Estoy persuadido de que dentro de la diocesis tenemos mucho más de lo que nos imaginamos, y que un distinto y cabal conocimiento de ello podria acarrear mucha ultilidad." "Pastoral letter of Martínez Compañón," 1782. Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Cartas y expedientes: curiosidades para el Jardín Botanico, Lima 798.

[34] In his work on Franscisco Lorenzana, Luis Sierra Nava-Lasa writes that "los prelados y clero episcopable metropolitanos no siempre ansiaban una mitra Americana. La tónica de su ilusión es más bien baja durante el siglo XVIII, porque conocen la dureza de la evangelización de ultramar. Al mito de que las prebendas neohispanas alentaban a la aventura americana contradicen los Informes espiscopales para Mitras y prebendas de America de la Camara de Indias." Luis Sierra Nava-Lasa, *El Cardenal Lorenzana y la Ilustración* (Madrid, 1973), 109.

disgraces of the Indians of America, and believed that their luck was unhappy in general." But what he had imagined, he admitted, could not begin to compare to the tragedy he had witnessed during his nineteen years in Peru.

His time in Trujillo, he wrote, had shown him that the majority of the Indians of Trujillo were "a miserable people…wherever one looks." He believed that the Indian's misery was in many ways the fault of the Spanish, who had failed to instruct them properly in Catholic spirituality and European sociability. He believed this neglect was manifest "in their souls," because "in their profound ignorance, they have no idea of good, bad, or virtue." Equally upsetting was the physical misery the Indians endured. "In sickness and in health," he wrote, "[they] are treated with positive indolence, inhumanity, and cruelty…[they receive] no help when they ask for it – not even that commonly given to beasts."[35]

Although Martínez Compañón was still naïve to the realities of the situation, like many prelates, the young canon might have decided to ensconce himself in Lima's Cathedral, busy himself with secretarial work, and only rarely venture out among the troubled populace. Eleven years later, when he set foot in Trujillo and surveyed the still present damage from the earthquake of 1759, including a largely demolished cathedral, crumbling buildings, and the simple Indian huts clustered outside the city walls, he might again have chosen to remain a man of the cloth living a life of the mind. However, for Martínez Compañón, the gravity of the situation in Trujillo had the opposite effect. As he explained to his King, it motivated him to work "through the principles of humanity, justice, and religion to dispose [the Indians] so they might become true sons of God…reverent vassals of Your Majesty, and more useful members of society."[36]

Thus the Bishop neatly summarized the ideology behind the efforts of his ten years in Trujillo. As a model Spanish Bishop, Martínez Compañón was concerned with the spiritual welfare of his flock, but as a classic reformer of the Hispanic Enlightenment, his vision for their improvement was much broader. The Bishop sought to make the people of Trujillo into obedient political subjects and productive members of modern

[35] Martínez Compañón, "Erección y fundación de dos colegios de cholos y cholas en Trujillo," 1783. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades.
[36] Ibid.

Hispanic society. Along with better Catholic morality and conduct, such improvements would create a model community of the Hispanic Enlightenment in Trujillo; a veritable utopia fashioned to reflect the visionary pragmatism of Martínez Compañón's science of empire.

This chapter considers how Martínez Compañón arrived at his program of imperial science through examining his early influences, intellectual network, and the situation he encountered in late colonial Trujillo. In part one, it provides the basic biographical information on the future Bishop, including his childhood and youth in Spain, and his early years in Peru as a Lima Cathedral Canon. Section two locates Martínez Compañón within the tradition of the reforming prelates of the Hispanic Enlightenment. It also explores the question of what exactly religion meant to a Bishop who at times seemed more like a Viceroy or a bureaucrat. It concludes that for Martínez Compañón, religious belief and participation was essentially a pragmatic method of enforcing order and achieving improvement in Trujillo. Part three briefly outlines the history of colonial Trujillo, and depicts the situation Martínez Compañón encountered upon his arrival in 1779. A major theme in this section is the intellectual and cultural isolation the young Bishop faced. A previously undiscovered cache of personal letters between the Bishop and a prominent Basque father and son living in Lima detail how he used close friendships and correspondence to manage his loneliness. These letters show Martínez Compañón to be a man of intellect, passion, fear, and even at times, immense self-doubt. Finally, section four provides a detailed reconstruction of Martínez Compañón's *visita* throughout Trujillo from June 1782 to February 1785. Overall, this chapter contextualizes Martínez Compañón as a model figure of the Hispanic Enlightenment: intensely practical, fiercely curious, and deeply motivated.

From Cabredo to Trujillo: The Journey to America and Early Career

Who was Martínez Compañón, why was he chosen for work in the Indies, and how did he come to imagine such an elaborate plan for Trujillo's improvement? Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda was born on January 10, 1737, in the town of Cabredo, in the Aguilar Valley of Navarre. Located in the Pyrenees region of Northeastern Spain,

Navarre was a Basque province with special *fuero* or local legal privileges, including its own viceroy and ruling *Cortes*.[37] Like the rest of the Basque region, its economy was based largely on agriculture, lumber for shipbuilding, and trading with the Americas.[38]

Figure 2.1. Map of Spain.[39]

Although he first attended the local primary school in Cabredo, young

[37] John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700 - 1808* (Oxford, 1989), 106. On the Basques, also see: Jose Manuel Azcona Pastor, *Possible Paradises: Basque Emigration to Latin America*, Ronald Vazquez trans. (Reno, 2004), Juan Javier Pescador, *The New World Inside a Basque Village. The Oiartzun Valley and Its Atlantic Emigrants, 1550-1800.* (Reno, 2004).

[38] Shared culture, language, and social systems have linked Navarra with the rest of Spanish Basque country (Alava, Guipúzcoa, and Vizcaya,) and the French Basque provinces of Basse Navarre, Labourd, and Soule, which are separated from Spain by the Pyrenees mountains. Although technically Navarre is governed as a separate administrative unit from the other three provinces, which are known today as Basque Country, it is essential to recall that "Basques regard themselves as forming a single cultural unit cemented by a distinctive race and language," and that this same identity was also present in the eighteenth century. Marianne Heiberg, *The making of the Basque nation* (Cambridge, 1989), 13.

[39] http://www.mapsofworld.com/spain/maps/spain-political-map.jpg

Martínez Compañón soon traveled to Aragón to study philosophy in the Convent la Merced in Calatayud. In 1752, he finished his studies and returned to Cabredo, where he won a post in the parish of Santiago. He completed his university training in canonical law in the Universities of Huesca and Zaragosa, both in the neighboring province of Aragón. From there he won a scholarship to the Colegio de Sancti Spiritus in Oñate (today Oñati), Guipuzcoa; where he would later become rector. By 1765, Martínez Compañón had won a position as the doctrinal canon of the Cathedral in Santander, Cantabria, during which time he represented the *cabildo* in dealings with the Spanish Crown.[40]

Figure 2.2. Map of Navarre. Martínez Compañón's home village of Cabredo lies near Calahorra, South of Logroño. [41]

In 1766, Madrid officials called on him to serve as an advisor to the Inquisition. Both of these positions brought him into close contact with high-level church and crown administrators, and likely factored in his future career successes.[42]

In 1767, Martínez Compañón's superiors presented him to King Charles III as a candidate for the post of *chantre*, or musical director, of the Lima Metropolitan Cathedral.

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[40] For biographical details on Martínez Compañón, see the older studies of José Manuel Peréz Ayala, *Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, Prelado Español de Colombia y el Peru* (Bogotá, 1955), Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Tres Figuras Señeras del Episcopado Americano* (Lima, 1966). For a recent authoritative ecclesiastical and social history of Martínez Compañón's life and work, see Restrepo Manrique, *Sociedad y Religion en Trujillo (Peru), Bajo el Episcopado de Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, 1780-1790*.

[41] http://www.allspainaccommodation.com/navarra/navarramap.jpg

[42] Students of the Bishop know almost nothing about what he did during this time, as the records are not to be found in Colombia, Peru, or the Archive of the Indies.

The King approved, and the young man departed for Lima on October 4, 1767. He brought with him his books, luggage, and two male servants, both of whom had passed the necessary tests of *limpieza de sangre* (or purity of blood, meaning they were able to prove they were of old Catholic heritage, untainted by Moorish or Jewish ancestry) and single marital status. The first, Ceferino Manuel de Isla of Santander, was 18 years old, described as "dark, with big eyebrows and brown eyes." He traveled separately from Martínez Compañón, accompanying his books and luggage on a different ship that sailed directly to the port of Callao outside Lima, avoiding the routine stop in Buenos Aires. The second servant, Pedro de Echevarri, was from Oñati – perhaps he had come into contact with Martínez Compañón at the University there. He was twenty years old (ten years younger than Martínez Compañón), and described as "dark, scarred from smallpox, [with] black eyes." While his counterpart Ceferino was to care for the luggage, Martínez Compañón described Pedro de Echevarri's tasks only as "my service."[43]

However, such a simplistic description of Echevarri's responsibilities belies the depth and intensity of the work Pedro Echevarri did for Martínez Compañón throughout the Bishop's life. His constant companion, Echevarri served Martínez Compañón in Lima, and became his secretary once the young canon became Bishop of Trujillo. He accompanied him on his grueling *visita* through the mountains, jungles, and deserts of Trujillo. He later followed Martinez Compañón to Bogotá, where he had to keep up with the increased responsibilities of an Archbishop in a more urbane, cosmopolitan community. Throughout his years with the Bishop, Echevarri patiently penned the thousands of pages of official and personal correspondence that Martínez Compañón dictated.[44] His handwriting was legible and pleasing to the eye – especially when compared to that of his superior, which was gnarled, small, and hurried. It appears to be Echevarri's hand that wrote out the hundreds of names on the images of the watercolors of *Trujillo del Perú*, and painstakingly listed each item in the massive collection inventory. After Martínez Compañón's death, Echevarri, who had by then become a Canon of the Bogotá Cathedral, played a key role in sending the Bishop's remaining

[43] "Información y licencia de pasajero a indias del Dr. Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, con sus criados, a Lima," 1768. Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Contratácion 5511B, N.2, R.12.
[44] For instance, a large portion of the Bishop's letters to the Heremegildos is in Echevarri's hand.

natural history work to the King in Spain.[45] Although the documentation overlooks his daily role in the Bishop's life, the relationship between the two men spanned at least thirty years, or the entire time Martínez Compañón was in America. It was a constant pairing of Bishop and Secretary, Archbishop and Canon, friend and friend. Their relationship was so ubiquitous that Martínez Compañón presumably had no need to write about it, or to discuss it in any surviving documentation. But without Echevarri's careful cataloging of the Bishop's papers, and his insistence that Martínez Compañón's natural history work be sent to Spain, much of the Bishop's accomplishments might have been lost.

The ten long months the two young men spent together on their trans-Atlantic journey gave their friendship ample time to grow. When they arrived in Lima on July 7, 1768, they encountered a cosmopolitan city complete with the trappings of European wealth, manners, and excess, including ornate rococo and imposing neoclassical architecture, manicured parks with flowering gardens, and famously beautiful women intricately adorned with fine fabrics and opulent jewels.[46]

Viceroy Manuel de Guiror (1708-1788), a Navarese naval officer, was the highest ruling official in Peru at this time. Guiror found himself particularly welcome in Limeño society, especially in comparison to his much-maligned authoritarian predecessor, Viceroy Manuel de Amat (1704-1782).[47] But more importantly for Martínez Compañón, who was interested in music, zoology, botany, and ethnography, Lima was a vibrant intellectual and cultural center. It was the home of the University of San Marcos, the oldest in South America.[48] While San Marcos remained somewhat conservative throughout the late-eighteenth century (for instance, the 1766 founding statement of the department of mathematics firmly declared that its mission was for military

[45] "Pedro Echevarri and Fausto Sodupe to Antonio de Solar, Santa Fé de Bogotá, 15 September, 1797." Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Estado 57, #23.
[46] For a description of endorsed leisure activities in Lima, especially the paseo, see "Examen Histórico de las Diversiones Públicas de las Naciones," *Mercurio Peruano* 1 (13 January 1791).
[47] Vicente Palacio Atard, "Un Vizcaíno en desgracia: Areche, Visitador del Perú," in *Los Vascos y America*, ed. Ignacio Pérez Arana (Madrid, 1990).
[48] Antonio E. Ten, "Ciencia y Universidad en la America hispana: La universidad de Lima," in *Ciencia Colonial en America*, ed. Antonio Lafuente and Jose Sala Catlata (Madrid, 1992), 164.

advancement, not for pure mathematical investigation[49]) professors taught experimental science at other schools in Lima, like the Convictorio Carolino. In the same year of Martínez Compañón's arrival, educational reformer Toribio Rodríguez de Mendoza added Newtonian physics to the curriculum of the Colegio of San Carlos.[50]

Lima also had its fair share of well-known scientists. Cosme Bueno, "the elder statesman of science in Peru," published his yearly almanac, *Conocimiento de los Tiempos* (1757-1798,)[51] from his home base in Lima. The city was also the home of Hipólito Unanue, who believed that cultivating commerce based on Peru's rich natural resources could civilize and modernize the viceroyalty.[52] Another local scientist, José Eusebio Llano y Zapata, the son of an elite Limeño family, sent to the King of Spain in 1761 a manuscript detailing the natural resources of Peru entitled *Memorias Histórico-Físicas-Apologéticas de la América Meridional*.[53] One year after Martínez Compañón's arrival, in 1787, Lima's elite founded it's first Spanish-style economic society, under the guise of the *Academia Filharmonica*. This same group would later become the *Sociedad de Amantes del País*, the society that published Lima's enlightenment periodical, the *Mercurio Peruano* between 1791 and 1794. In 1792, Padre Francisco Gonalez Laguna oversaw the founding of Lima's botanical garden.[54] Clearly, late viceregal Lima was home to many individuals who shared his interests in botany, zoology, ethnography, and archaeology.

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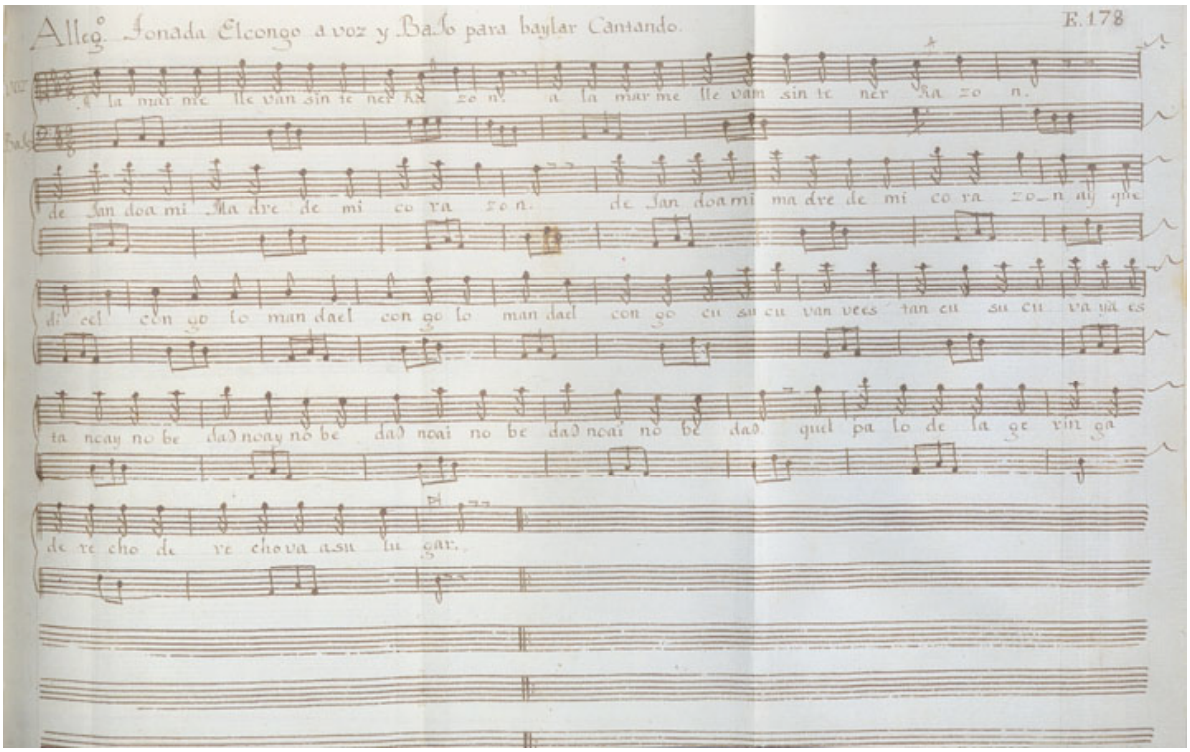
[49] Diana Soto Arango, "La enseñanza ilustrada en las universdidades de América colonial: estudio historiográfico," in *La Ilustración en América Colonial*, ed. Diana Soto Arango, Miguel Angel Puig-Samper y Luis Carlos Arboleda (Madrid, 1995), 105.
[50] Juan Jose Saldaña, "Ilustración, ciencia y técnica en America," in *La Ilustracion en America Colonial*, ed. Diana Soto Arango, Miguel Angel Puig-Samper y Luis Carlos Arboleda (Madrid, 1995), 39.
[51] Steele, *Flowers for the King - the expedition of Ruiz and Pavon and the flora of Peru,* 67.
[52] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "La utopia de Hipólito Unanue: comercio, naturaleza, y religión en el Perú," in *Saberes Andinos: ciencia y tecnología en Bolivia, Ecuador y Peru*, ed. Marcos Cueto (Lima, 1995), 96.
[53] Jose Eusebio de Llano Zapata, "Memorias histórico, físicas, crítico, apologéticas de la América Meridional," in *José Eusebio Llano Zapata. Memorias histórico, físicas, crítico, apologéticas de la América Meridional*, ed. Antonio Garrido Aranda Ricardo Ramírez Castañeda, Luis Millones Figueroa, Víctor Peralta Ruiz, and Charles Walker (Lima, 2005).
[54] Soto Arango, "La enseñanza ilustrada en las universdidades de América colonial: estudio historiográfico," 105.

Although personal documents do not reveal the extent to which Martínez Compañón engaged with this milieu of Limeño society; presumably his involvement was somewhat limited by his ecclesiastical duties. As musical director or *chantre*, Martínez Compañón was an integral member of the Cathedral *cabildo*. He taught music, including chanting and singing.[55] He would maintain this interest throughout his life, especially during his later travels throughout Trujillo.

Figure 2.3. Tonada el Congo a voz y Bajo para baylar Cantando, from Volume Two of *Trujillo del Perú*. While none of the musical documentation survives from his time in Lima, during his *visita* Martínez Compañón maintained his musical interests. Most likely recorded while visiting slaves in the coastal sugar plantations, the lyrics of the song read like this:



A la mar me llevan sin tener razón
Dejando a mi madre de mi corazón.
Ay qué dice el Congo

They carry me to the sea without reason,
Leaving behind my mother of my heart.
Ay, what does the Congo say.

[55] Robert Stevenson, "Colonial Music in Colombia," *The Americas* 19 (October, 1962), 121-136.

Lo manda el Congo	The Congo commands.
Cu su cu van ve están	Cu, su, cu they go, see, they are there.
Cu su cu van ya está	Cu, su, cu, they go, they are already there.
No hay novedad, no hay novedad	There is nothing new, there is nothing new,
Que el palo de la geringa	Other than the Moringa Tree,
Derecho, derecho va a su lugar.[56]	Straight, straight, goes to its place.

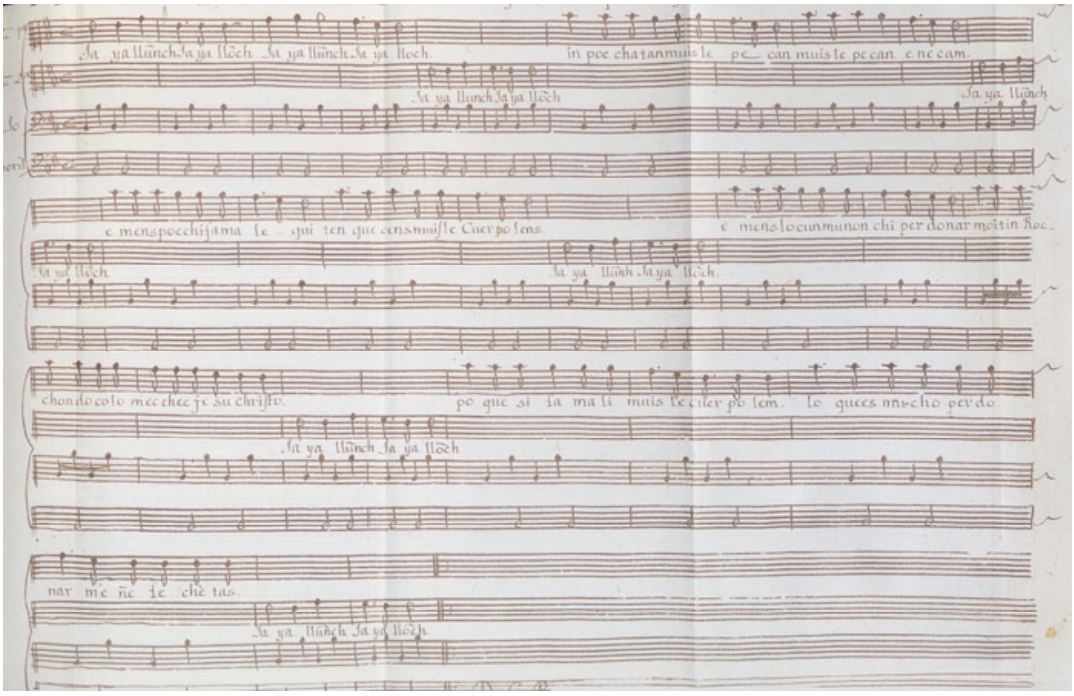


Figure 2.4. Tonada del Chimo a dos voces, Bajo y tamboril, para baylar cantando, from Volume two of *Trujillo del Perú*. The liner notes to the Música Temprana recording of Martínez Compañón's musical annotations, *Al Uso de Nuestra Tierra, Chants et danses du baroque péruvien*, confirms that "The Tonada del Chimo is the only original music written to a text in the mochica language, a language that had already disappeared by the time of Martínez Compañón."[57]

[56] Adrián Rodríguez van der Spoel, Al uso de nuestro tierra. Chants et danses du baroque péruvien (2001).
[57] Ibid.

In addition to his musical duties, Martínez Compañón compiled a master list of the Cathedral's chaplaincies and charitable endowments. As with all projects given him, he would put every best effort towards completing this task. The two massive volumes that resulted were an early indication of the young man's superior organizational abilities. Indexed like a modern-day telephone book, with tabs separating the letters, the *capellanías* books listed by last name the individuals who had made the bequests, and for what purpose. He recorded that Miss Maria Theodora, for instance, had in 1740 established a chaplaincy based on the value of her country home outside of Lima. With these funds, she supported a Licentiate named Lorenzo de Azogue.[58]

Figure 2.3. A Seminary Student from Trujillo wearing the sort of sash Martínez Compañón discussed. *Trujillo del Perú*, volume One.

In 1770, the Lima metropolitan cabildo rewarded Martinez Compañón's hard work, naming him Rector of the Saint Toribio Seminary, also in Lima. Alfonso Toribio de

[58] Martínez Compañón, "Capellanías y Otras Obras Pias, Volumen 16," 1769. Lima: Archivo del Cabildo Eclesiástico, Capellanías y Otras Obras Pias.

Mogrevo, the second Archbishop of Lima, had founded this prestigious institution, the first seminary in the Western hemisphere, in 1591. Saint Toribio, as he later came to be known, had been a noted advocate for Peru's Indians.[59] (He also served as an inspiration for the young Bishop, who twenty years later would leave as his parting gift to the Trujillo cathedral a gold reliquary adorned with nineteen pearls of varying sizes, encrusted with forty-four diamonds, and containing a holy relic of Saint Toribio.[60]) Although the majority of the documents from his time there are lost, it does appear that he worked tirelessly at the seminary to organize and improve, soliciting permission and funds for several structural improvements to the building, including more student rooms and easier access to water in the cooking area.[61] Regardless of the inevitable disciplinary difficulties with his young charges, the Bishop must have looked back fondly at his time supervising the students, for when he was founding his own seminary in Trujillo, he hoped for the students there to wear sashes similar to those the Lima students had worn.[62]

During these years in Lima, Martínez Compañón took care to cultivate a close relationship with Archbishop Antonio de Parada y Vidaurre (1762-1779), who soon rewarded him with additional responsibilities.[63] In 1772 and 1773, Lima's Cathedral hosted the Sixth Provincial Church Council, in which canons, Bishops, and the Archbishop debated how they would implement Charles III's modernizing reforms, and how they would cope with the expulsion of the Jesuits from Peru three years earlier. Eventually, the church officials laid out a plan to promote a "reasonable and orderly society" in Peru. They planned to study health, child-rearing, indigenous beliefs, and

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[59] Napoleon Mogrovejo Rojas, *Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo - defensor del Indio Americano* (Caracas, 1985).
[60] "Actas del Cabildo de 22 de June 1790, 'Oficios que Dirigó Martínez Compañón Antes de Su Partida." Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Actas de Cabildo Eclesiástico.
[61] Martínez Compañón, "Solicitud. a fin de que se conceda la licéncia necesária para la construcción y fábrica de un cuarto más para los colegiales y obras para conducir el agua al traspatio del colegio," 1775. Lima: Archivo Arzobispal, Seminario de Santo Toribio, 1606-1921; V:47; 1775.
[62] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, November 1781." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Francisco Moyrera Matute #564.
[63] Restrepo, "Vida y Hechos de Martínez Compañón," 44.

slavery.[64] Archbishop Parada y Vidaurre saw to it that Martínez Compañón served as consultant and secretary to the council.[65] Although his personal writings do not reveal how directly the debates at this meeting affected the agenda he designed for Trujillo, undoubtedly these discussions, arguments, and agreements shaped his future endeavors. Martínez Compañón must have worked well as consultant and secretary, because on February 25, 1778, he became the next Bishop of Trujillo, in the North of Peru, near Ecuador. Although he never said it in so many words, being assigned to a post that was comparatively poor and isolated may have been somewhat of a disappointment. He subtly revealed these feelings in a letter from 1790 in which he wrote about how much he had loved Trujillo, "even though it was not Lima."[66] Regardless of any reservations, the young man was scheduled to be confirmed as Bishop the following June. But the necessary decrees were delayed. When they finally arrived, Martínez Compañón learned that -- like all Bishops in America -- he was responsible for obeying the laws of the Indies, and overseeing all ecclesiastical income that was shared with the Crown. From Lima that March, he confirmed: "I swear I will guard and comply with all corresponding faith our King, observing all the laws of the *Real Patronato*, and that I will not contradict anything contained in them in any way."[67] After filing the paperwork and journeying to Trujillo, the young man was confirmed as Bishop on May 3, 1779.[68] He was forty-two years old.

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[64] Luis Martin, *Scholars and Schools in Colonial Peru* (Texas, 1973), 30.
[65] Restrepo, "Vida y Hechos de Martínez Compañón," 44.
[66] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, March 25, 1790." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Francisco Moyrera Matute #564.
[67] " El fiat de S.V. Santidad, Real Cedula de S.V. Majestad, por la que presenta a Illustrisimo Sr. Dr. Don Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón a Obispo de Esta Santa Iglesia Catedral de Trujillo," 1777. Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Curas y Obispos, Doc 17, 789-816.
[68] Baltasar Jaime Mart ínez Compañón, "Actas de Cabildo Eclesiastico, "Las Vidas de los Obispos de Trujillo."" 1790. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Actas del Cabildo Eclesiastico.

Figure 2.4. A map of Peru.[69]

On that day, Martínez Compañón undertook a set of responsibilities that would consume the next ten years of his life. His position as Bishop was an honor, yet it carried a potentially onerous load of responsibilities. During his years in Trujillo, Martínez Compañón was often lonely, missing his friends and acquaintances in Lima, and his family in Spain. Perhaps to fill this void, he became an ardent letter-writer who reputedly responded ten-fold for every letter he received.[70] Yet, he often found the responses were

[69] http://www.go2peru.com/spa/images/map_peru_total2.jpg
[70] Armando Gómez Latorre, "Una Semblanza Historica: El Arzobispo Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda," *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* Number 786J (1994), 629.

too slow in coming – only a few months after his arrival in Trujillo, he complained: "before I was Bishop, everyone wrote to me. But after becoming Bishop, I don't receive letters from anyone."[71] Two years later, he wrote dejectedly that he had not heard any news about his father in Spain "in a thousand years."[72] As the years progressed, he also found that in the "retreat with little communication with the world"[73] that was Trujillo, he often lacked for certain things; including writing pens,[74] drinking chocolate,[75] and books. He specifically longed for the works of sixteenth-century Spanish botanist Nicolas Monardes on American plants, and the scientific work of Jesuit Polymath Athanasius Kircher – no doubt he intended to use these as models for his natural history research.[76] In addition to grappling with a life often lacking in the material goods he coveted, Martínez Compañón also faced personal financial troubles. He had repeatedly to borrow from friends in Lima, even to make the journey from Peru to his new post as Archbishop of Santa Fé.[77] To make matters worse, psychological anxiety was compounded by seemingly constant illness: headaches, fevers, and failing eyes were among his most frequent complaints. In 1785, as his *visita* came to a close, he admitted that "every day I feel more and more the effects of my pilgrimage; sometimes my limbs hurt so much that I want to stop the suffering."[78]

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[71] Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 10 August, 1780." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.
[72] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 20 April, 1782." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Francisco Moyrera Matute #564.
[73] "Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 10 March, 1780." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.
[74] "Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu, unknown." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.
[75] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Lambayeque, 22 December 1783." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.
[76] Martínez Compañón requested Antonio send him a copy of Monardes' botanical work on America. "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Quereajzu, Trujillo, 25 July 1788." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727. That same year, he requested from Agustín a copy of "some printed museum…like Kircher." "Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu, unknown, 1788." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.
[77] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 1789." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.
[78] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 10 April, 1785." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.

The Bourbon Bishops of the Hispanic Eighteenth Century

Why, then, did Martínez Compañón work so tirelessly to improve the economy of Trujillo and the lives of its inhabitants? Now that he was a Bishop, such Herculean efforts were par for the course. In fact, on the day he officially received his post, he joined a small but dedicated group of Bourbon prelates that made great strides in promoting the agenda of the Bourbon monarchy in America during the Age of Enlightenment.[79] Like him, they faced great challenges with scant resources. As a group, these reformers are often described as "Jansenists," a name derived from a seventeenth-century French Catholic group that favored devotional austerity over Baroque worship.[80] In the Hispanic context, Jansenists are best known for what they are not: Jesuits. Their opposition to the Jesuit order placed them squarely within the royalist camp. While the Jesuits held ultimate allegiances to the Pope in Rome, the Jansenist clergy stood firmly by the Spanish crown.[81] They actively participated in expelling the Jesuit order from the Spanish

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[79] The ecclesiastical reform agenda of the Bourbon prelates has been well studied, especially by David Brading, Nancy Farriss, Brian Larkin, and Pamela Voekel. Although these works have contributed greatly to our understanding of late eighteenth-century Hispanic Catholicism, they do not fully explore the involvement of the same individuals in temporal matters. While Bishops were busy forcing nuns to use common kitchens, or trying to stop the lavish costuming of religious images, they still found time to promote diverse agricultural, educational, and cultural initiatives. This becomes especially important upon considering how in distant Spanish America the Crown had little option but to rely on the Bourbon prelates to do its bidding. D.A. Brading, "Tridentine Catholicism and Enlightened Despotism in Bourbon Mexico," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 15 (May, 1983), David Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico - The diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810* (Cambridge, 1994), Nancy Farris, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico 1759-1821. The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege.* (London, 1968), Brian Larkin, "The Splendor of Worship: Baroque Catholicism, Religious Reform, and Last Wills and Testaments in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 8 (1999), Pamela Voekel, *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* (Durham, 2002).

[80] Larkin, "The Splendor of Worship: Baroque Catholicism, Religious Reform, and Last Wills and Testaments in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City." Larkin points out that unlike the earlier French Jansenists, eighteenth-century Spanish Jansenists did not conern themselves with matters of grace or free will (page 414.) William Callahan defines Jansenism similarly in chapter one of *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (Cambridge, 1984).

[81] On Spanish Janenists, see Charles C. Noel, "Clerics and Crown in Bourbon Spain, 1700-1808: Jesuits, Jansenists, and Enlightened Reformers," in *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, ed. James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2001). Also see Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico - The diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810*, Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874*, Antonio Mestre, "La actitud religiosa de los

Kingdoms in 1767. They attacked popular devotion or local religious ritual, seeking to control and streamline religious activities. While it is true that the Jansenist prelates of the late-eighteenth century engaged in all sorts of ecclesiastic housekeeping, they are often most notable for the degree that their interests extended beyond the realm of the spiritual. In fact, Charles III handpicked bishops and archbishops recognized as faithful adherents to his enlightened program of utilitarian secular reform.

William Callahan has argued that such clergy functioned as "a kind of religious civil service, closely identified with the task of national improvement."[82] They appear here as "reforming prelates," "Bourbon prelates," or "Enlightened prelates, " rather than Jansenists. But even this more specific label begs questions. Who were these men who embodied the powerful union of church and crown in the late Bourbon Hispanic world? Where did they come from? Like Martínez Compañón, the majority of the reforming prelates who engaged in political economy reform and natural history investigation were secular clergy, not members of the religious orders. In general, the reforming prelates were highly educated: three quarters held the title of "Doctor," and most of the rest had obtained the equivalent of Master's degrees. A slight majority held university titles from America (mostly coming from Lima, Santiago de Chile, Santa Fe de Bogotá, and Mexico City.) Others were educated in Spain. While Peninsular Spaniards outnumbered American-born creoles in their ranks, they did so only slightly.[83]

In general, the most well known of the Bourbon prelates engaged in political economy efforts to improve the common good. Francisco Fabian y Fuero, Bishop of Puebla from 1765 to1773, supported attempts to educate farmers on how to increase their profits/ José Pérez Calama, Canon of the Cathedral of Michoacán 1780-1788, fed the poor from his own pockets during Mexico's agricultural crisis of 1762.[84] When he

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Católicos ilustrados," in *El reformismo borbónico: una visión interdisciplinar*, ed. Augustín Guimerá (Madrid, 1996), William Doyle, *Jansenism - Catholic Resistance to Authority from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (New York, 2000).

[82] Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874*, 5.

[83] Paulino Castaneda Delgado, "La jerarquía ecelsiástica en la América de las Luces," in *La América Española en la Época de las Luces* (Madrid, 1988), 97.

[84] Juvenal Jaramillo, *José Pérez Calama, un clerigo Ilustrado del Siglo XVIII en la Antigua Valladolid de Michoacán* (Morelia, 1990) Chapter four explains Pérez Calama's role in the agricultural crisis.

became Bishop of Quito in 1788, he opened a road to the coastal jungle of Esmeraldas in order to promote the sale of Ecuadorian fruit and cloth in Panama.[85] Antonio Caballero y Góngora, Archbishop of Santa Fé de Bogotá, Colombia, 1779-1789, served concurrently as Viceroy of Nueva Granada from 1782 to 1788.[86] Along with frequent collaborator José Celestino Mutis, he promoted a campaign to encourage vaccination from smallpox.[87] Francisco Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico from 1766-1772, dedicated funds to an orphanage.[88]

The Bourbon prelates were almost universally interested in education. For example, Caballero y Góngora encouraged the study of the sciences.[89] During his years in Quito, Pérez Calama reformed the university's curriculum to emphasize scientific investigation. When he died, he bequeathed to the University's library a portion of the 66 boxes of books inventoried in his will.[90] In Puebla, Fabian y Fuero paid for endowed professorships of ecclesiastical history and Greek, and supported the foundation of an academy of literature.[91]

The enlightened prelates also engaged with the natural history investigations of Spain's science of empire. Fabian y Fuero, for instance, took great personal interest in science, history, and linguistics,[92] while Pérez Calama dedicated much of his time in Quito to penning articles about the practical applications of science, which were subsequently published in the Enlightenment periodical the *Mercurio Peruano*.[93]

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[85] Ekkehart Keeding, *Surge la nación: La Ilustración en la Audiencia de Quito (1725-1812)* (Quito, 2005), 225.
[86] Although all of these men wielded considerable influence, Caballero y Góngora's power was augmented by his simultaneous appointment as Viceroy of New Granada from 1782-1788.
[87] For more on Caballero y Góngora, see Marco Antonio Fonseca Truque, *Historia del delito en Colombia: el veneno del arzobispo* (Bogotá, 1983), Roberto Maria Tisnes Jimenez, *Caballero y Gongora y los Comuneros* (Bogotá, 1984).
[88] Nava-Lasa, *El Cardenal Lorenzana y la Ilustración,* 239.
[89] Rafael Antolínez Camargo, *El Papel Periódico de Santafé de Bogotá 1791 - 1797 - Vehiculo de las luces y la contrarrevolucion* (Bogotá, 1991) See especially chapter one.
[90] Keeding, *Surge la nación: La Ilustración en la Audiencia de Quito (1725-1812),* 259-272 discusses the library of Pérez Calama and other prelates.
[91] Jaramillo, *José Pérez Calama, un clerigo Ilustrado del Siglo XVIII en la Antigua Valladolid de Michoacán,* 268-272.
[92] Francisco Rodríguez de Coro, *Fabián y Fuero. Un ilustrado molinés en Puebla de los Ángeles* (Madrid, 1988).
[93] Germán Cardozo Galué, *Michoacán en el Siglo de las Luces* (Mexico City, 1973) 92-93.

Caballero y Góngora was a dedicated supporter of Mutis's Royal Botanical Expedition. He also wrote about the natural history of New Granada (focusing on indigenous peoples and the frontier wilderness areas of Darien, Santa Marta and Rio de la Hacha) in his report to his successor, Viceroy Francisco Gil y Lemos.[94] However, the natural history efforts of Francisco Lorenzana received the most renown. In 1770, he published an elaborate edition of letters Hernán Cortés sent to King Charles III describing the people, flora, and fauna of Mexico. He included with these his own reports on the nature and government of the region, maps, and illustrations of the fabrics, clothing, and agricultural products various towns paid for tribute.[95] Like Martínez Compañón, the reforming prelates of the Hispanic eighteenth-century capitalized on all available resources in order to surround themselves with a culture of improvement. Also like him, they engaged in both of the main components of Hispanic imperial science: political economy and natural history. Comparing their activities to the work Martínez Compañón executed in Trujillo reveals that he fully deserves to be included among their ranks.

The tools of the science of empire, then, were the implements of these men. With them they sought to transform and improve Spanish America. However, focusing on these temporal activities does suggest that the Bourbon prelates were disengaged from spiritual matters. To the contrary -their faith in the dogma and institutions of the Catholic church was the driving force behind their secular reforms. Under the terms of the *Patronato real*, the Catholic church agreed to support Crown initiatives and accept royal intervention in its affairs, including ultimate decision-making power over appointments to American posts.[96] On the other side, the Crown promised to aid the Church in the spread of Christianity.[97] This contract helps to illuminate the complex nature of the Church-State relationship in early modern Spain: spiritual and secular aims were joint pursuits of an immensely powerful partnership.

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[94] German Colmenares, ed, *Relaciones e informes de los gobernantes de la Nueva Granada*, Tomo I (Bogotá, 1989.)
[95] Nava-Lasa, *El Cardenal Lorenzana y la Ilustración*.
[96] Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714. A Society of Conflict.* (London, 1991), chapter three.
[97] Farris, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico 1759-1821. The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege*, 1.

As a representative Bourbon Bishop, Martínez Compañón viewed religious belief much in the same manner. Convinced of the benefits of an intimate relationship between the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown, he willingly accepted the agenda of Spanish Bourbon reformers, dedicating himself to implementing similar programs in his diocese of Trujillo. His religious belief strengthened his commitment to improving public happiness and utility in Trujillo. Religion was an instrument for ordering the state.

What then, was the religious agenda of the reforming prelates? Instead of stressing the importance of splendor and spectacle in worship in the style of Baroque religious devotion, the piety of the reforming prelates was based on a more austere notion of divinity, one in which God's presence was understood more as his quiet, internal influence over men. Thus, quiet contemplation replaced Baroque traditions like elaborate saints' cults, lavish music, and frequent communion.[98]

A better understanding of what religious belief meant to Martínez Compañón appears in his parting gift to the Trujillo cathedral. The gold reliquary contained a holy relic of Saint Toribio.[99] This gift represented one of Martínez Compañón's final decrees -- before taking leave of Trujillo, he declared Saint Toribio to be the Patron Saint of the diocese of Trujillo.[100] What Toribio represented to Martinez Compañón and why he chose him illuminates his hopes for his own legacy.

His idol, Alfonso Toribio de Mogrovejo (b. León, Spain 1538) was the second Archbishop of Lima, serving from 1580 to 1606. The story of his tenure in Peru readily reveals why Martínez Compañón found him to be so inspiring. When Toribio arrived in Peru in 1581, he immediately recognized that a major challenge and responsibility of his see was ministering to the native population of Peru. He immediately began to study Quechua, so as to communicate with the Indians directly. He also understood the importance of a thorough *visita* of his territories, so he journeyed throughout Peru on three separate occasions. While traveling, he inquired about local indigenous customs

[98] Larkin, "The Splendor of Worship: Baroque Catholicism, Religious Reform, and Last Wills and Testaments in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City."
[99] "Actas del Cabildo de 22 June 1790, "Oficos que dirigó Martínez Compañón antes de su partida." Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Actas del Cabildo Eclesiástico.
[100] Compañón, "Actas de Cabildo Eclesiastico, "Las Vidas de los Obispos de Trujillo.""

and sought to ascertain how he might best help the inhabitants of each area. One study claims that when he entered Trujillo, the Archbishop found that "the Indians began to trust him," calling him "Tata" (father in Quechua,) and "expressing to him their fears and worries about the harsh and unjust laws that the civil authorities imposed on them."[101]

In order to ameliorate their situation, Toribio ordered the foundation of churches, schools, colleges, and hospitals for the Indians of Peru. When he established the seminary of Saint Toribio in Lima, he mandated that students study Quechua and Aymara, and he also saw to it that seminarians pass exams in these languages in order to prove that they would be capable of ministering to the native population. This was all in accordance with what Toribio believed was a key concern of the church in Peru – "educating the Indians in the manners of a good life as human beings: cleanliness, a house with a bed [and] chairs, women in church with their heads covered," and, most of all , how to "live in a peaceful and decent manner."[102]In acknowledgement of his extraordinary efforts, he was canonized in 1679.[103]

Two hundred years later, when Martínez Compañón traveled throughout his diocese in the Northern reaches of the Viceroyalty, he would find the situation in Trujillo strikingly similar to that which Toribio had faced years before. The Bishop's elaborate reform agenda would confront many of the same issues: education, civil life, public health, and good manners. Like the man he chose to be the patron Saint of his bishopric, Martínez Compañón believed that he could use the resources of his see to improve the lives of the plebeian classes, and he worked tirelessly to accomplish this.

Perhaps it is due to this pragmatic use of religion that the existing documentation from Martínez Compañón's time in Trujillo has a predominantly secular and practical focus. No known writings feature his theoretical musings about God, spiritual devotion, or philosophically abstract points of Catholic dogma. His surviving pastoral letters tend to focus on specific issues, such as quelling a tax rebellion or assuring proper dress for women.

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[101] Mogrovejo Rojas, *Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo - defensor del Indio Americano*, 52.
[102] Ibid, 53.
[103] Roberto Levillier, *Santo Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo. Arzobispo de los Reyes (1581-1606.) Organizador de la Iglesia en el Virreinato del Perú*. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1920.

However, there were several topics that Martínez Compañón suggested parish priests should regularly address with their parishioners. During his November 1783 stop in the town of Ferreñafe, Martínez Compañón left a comprehensive list of instructions for the local parish priest.[104] Like a good Bourbon Bishop, Martínez Compañón first turned to matters of infrastructure. He mandated that the first order of business in the Ferreñafe parish was rehabilitating the town church. Second, he wanted to assure that parish priest did not vacate their posts without leaving someone in their stead. If they had no choice but to step away, they were only permitted an absence of five days – longer trips of up to fifteen days necessitated permission from the local vicar. Without a stable church building and a reliable authority figure, a parish could not operate as an instrument of order and social guidance.

A number of the other suggestions for sermon topics demonstrate the Bishop's concern that parish priests be careful to explain doctrine to their flock. To that end, he listed a number of points they should regularly address in their sermons. On the first Sunday within the eight days after Christmas, priests were to speak to their flock "about the existence and excellence of God." They were to dwell on "his divine attributes, and…the works of his power." They were to discuss how the signs of his providence were to be found on earth, in all "the creatures that are made from his hand…and governed by his infinite wisdom."[105] This image of God as benevolent father of all earthly creatures indicates just how the Bishop wanted Trujillo's plebeian classes to understand their relationship with the Catholic God – they were to be thankful that he had provided them with a rich environment and that he guided them to live correctly within it.

True to his Bourbon pragmatism, this was the only abstract sermon topic proposed by Martínez Compañón. In other more practical homilies, priests were to dwell upon the importance of sacraments; how baptism gave man innocence, and how only "penitence…tears, austerities and mortifications," could repair this innocence once it was lost. Martínez Compañón also explained how confession should proceed. He recommended that priests begin with "soft" questions, such as "Do you not know that

[104] "Autos de Visita.[a] Ferreñafe, 24 Nov 1783," 1783. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Visitas.
[105] Ibid.

God is your creator and that you are his child?" and "Do you not see that the sun, the moon, the stars, the sea, the earth, and all things…obey the voice of your creator?" The confessor was then to move to more sensitive issues, such as "Tell me child, is it not true that you find yourself submerged in that abyss of these and those sins that you are about to confess to me?" The penitent was then to be made to understand that those who did not confess promptly and regularly would be "condemned to the terrible fires of hell."

The Bishop also stressed that marriage was an important sacrament that should not be treated as "purely a profane contract." To view it in this way, he cautioned, was "a sin and offense to God." He was also firm that unhappy marriages would not be annulled. Married people needed to understand their common obligations, of wife to husband and husband to wife, of parents to children and children to family. By bringing God into their households, people could create "peace, tranquility, and prosperity," not only of their homes and families, but also of "the republics, provinces, and kingdoms in this life…and the next. Martínez Compañón's emphasis on the importance of the sacraments in parish life suggests that there certainly had been past difficulties with administering the sacraments at the parish level. Although he did not say it in so many words, priests who worked with parishioners who regularly confessed, came to mass for communion, and married in Catholic ceremonies would surely have had an easier time managing, ministering, and observing their parishioners. With greater knowledge of and influence over their activities, priests would be better equipped to ensure that their communities were becoming the orderly, prosperous societies Martinez Compañón wanted to create in Trujillo.

Trujillo in the Colonial Period

While any prelate serving in a provincial Spanish American post would likely have concerned himself with how to use Catholicism as an instrument of Hispanicization, it seems that such a confluence was even more necessary in Trujillo. Officials marked the area as an economic trouble spot as early as 1763, when former Corregidor Don Miguel Feyjoo (1757-1760) published a report that praised the natural resources of the region,

but decried its current state, concluding that "it seems that the same appreciable advantages for human happiness have turned into ruin and desolation. Not only…the many Spanish who have come to Peru, but also…the…natural children of the country [the Indians] find themselves notably diminished."[106] How had it arrived at such a state?

When original *conquistador* Diego de Almagro founded Trujillo in 1534 and named it after Francisco de Pizarro's birthplace in Extremadura, Spain, he surely had higher hopes for its future. By 1577, the city incorporated the surrounding area in the North of Peru, and the diocese of Trujillo was established on April 15 of that year. By the time of Martínez Compañón's arrival, Trujillo province was the largest administrative unit in Peru. It encompassed the great climactic variation of the region; including the coastal desert, the *altiplano* or high plains, the valleys, and the jungle. It had a great variety of indigenous groups who lived scattered throughout the remote jungle and mountain regions. For instance, Martínez Compañón's own ethnographic investigations dealt with eight separate linguistic groups, who spoke languages as familiar as Quechua, and as little known as Culli, spoken mainly in the Huamachuco area.[107]

After Peru's early civil wars and ensuing strife, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581) implemented his reforms and brought Indian *reducciones* to Trujillo. While scholars are familiar with the general negative effects of these forced relocations (including disease and starvation),[108] the Northern Peruvian topography created additional complications. Officials relocated Indians to the less desirable lower valleys, lands with unhealthy climate and poor agricultural potential. During the winter months of April through September, the Indians contended with what is known in Lima as *garua*, or the ceaseless dense fog that creates moisture, mold, and bacteria everywhere. The

[106] Don Miguel Feyjoo, *Relación Descriptiva de la ciudad, y provincia de Truxillo del Peru con noticias exactas de su estado politico según el real orden dirigido al Excelentisimo Señor Virrey Conde de Super-unda* (Madrid, 1763).
[107] Martínez Compañón, "Estado que demuestra el número de Abitantes del Obispado. con distinción de castas."
[108] Alejandro Malaga Medina, *Reducciones Toledanas en Arequipa (Pueblos Traditiconales)*, Biblioteca de Autores Arequipeños (Arequipa, 1989).

Indians also found that their new homes had little water, and that what water was available was often monopolized by Spanish *hacendados*.[109]

As the sixteenth century drew to a close, many indigenous communities lost control over their communal rights to land. Some of this was due to corrupt *curacas* (indigenous community leaders) who abused their authority to appropriate common lands.[110] Even more frequent and powerful usurpers were the Spanish *hacendados* who wanted the land for cultivation. As it was elsewhere in much of colonial Spanish America, the European monopoly of land, water, resources, and labor resulted in a much higher standard of living for wealthy elites. Although they found themselves in relative social isolation, with few intellectual or cultural outlets, as compensation these few enjoyed a complete array of imported products, including: exquisite household décor, silver tea service, libraries, and European soap.[111]

The *hacendados'* good fortunes proved ephemeral, when a sharp downturn in the fortunes of Trujillo's landowners precipitated province-wide decline and debt. Sugar prices began to fall by 1690, and in 1701, a plague of rats and mice decimated the cane fields.[112] At the same time, newly revamped Bourbon tax policies further stressed the elite's resources. Those who could afford to do so began to leave the area. With the exception of Piura, all of the Spanish cities faced population decline, a fact that must have been only worsened by the disastrous earthquakes that struck the Northern coastal region in 1629, 1725, and again in 1759. Of this final quake, Corregidor Don Miguel Feyjoo wrote that "all the houses, even the strongest ones, were severely damaged, and many of them unserviceable. The Cathedral was damaged…such that the holy rights could not be practiced within it…There are still houses and huts on the beaches, and what some inhabitants have done is to make huts of cane and wood in the inside of their

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[109] Susan E. Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs. Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru* (Albuquerque, 1986), 77.
[110] Even as late as 1784, Intendant Jorge Escobedo reported that hacienda properties were often held "without titles…they have usurped what does not belong to them and belongs to the Indians." Jorge Escobedo, "Instrucción Práctica que para adaptar la nueva Real Ordenanza de Intendencias se da por el Tribunal de Visita al Senor Don Fernando Saabedra que va a servir la de Truxillo," 1784. Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 117.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.

houses, in order to be able to sleep without the fear of the adobe walls, that rightly cause them anxiety."[113]

In the now financially strained province, manufacturing and industry were also at a disadvantage, because those with means typically preferred to purchase European-made goods. Lack of income at the higher and middling sectors also affected city revenue – even the municipal cabildo found it could not pay for adequate water supply or basic road maintenance. For the disadvantaged majority, living standards had vastly deteriorated. Indians who had lived on specially organized agricultural communities outside of the cities called *rancherías* found that their farms and fields had become more like slums than agricultural production units. About the only sector of Trujillo's economy that was doing reasonably well was the Catholic Church, which was noticeably richer than the private sector or the local government.[114]

If Trujillo's ecclesiastics were among the most fortunate of its inhabitants, its native peoples faced the greatest difficulties. Indigenous peoples lived in isolated communities throughout the diocese. Some Indians lived almost entirely outside of the Spanish sphere of influence, and were even removed from the teachings of the Catholic Church. For instance, the Lamas Indians still lived as their ancestors had generations before. Others found their community lands *hacendados* usurped their community lands and now commanded their labor. Their situations were little improved by the notoriously corrupt corregidores of Trujillo and Cajamarca. The former, the Marqúes de Bellavista, was infamous for his propensity to impose "taxes with thousands of pretexts."[115] Although *repartimiento* or *mita* labor in Trujillo was officially outlawed in the 1784 Ordinance of Intendants, Martinez Compañón's letter to the King from 1786 clearly states that powerful elites hoped to find a way to reintroduce forced labor.

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[113] Feyjoo, *Relación Descriptiva de la ciudad, y provincia de Truxillo del Peru con noticias exactas de su estado politico según el real orden dirigido al Excelentisimo Señor Virrey Conde de Super-unda*.
[114] Katharine Coleman, "Provincial Urban Problems: Trujillo, Peru, 1600-1784," in *Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America*, ed. David J. Robinson (Syracuse, 1979), 405.
[115] Escobedo, "Instrucción Práctica que para adaptar la nueva Real Ordenanza de Intendencias se da por el Tribunal de Visita al Senor Don Fernando Saabedra que va a servir la de Truxillo,"

However, the Indians of Trujillo did not live in total isolation from the other castas of Northern Peru. In fact, the diocese was quite diverse by the 1780s. The Bishop's own demographic calculations produced tallies of 118,324 Indians; 79,043 mestizos (mixed-race of indigenous/white descent); 21,980 Spanish (including peninsular and creole); 16,630 *pardos* (mixed-race of African descent) and 4, 486 blacks. While the *pardos* and blacks were the smallest groups, when combined their total population rivaled that of the Spanish.

Trujillo city also had a significant black population, indeed the second largest after Lima.[116] Many were slaves whom the Spanish originally brought to the coastal regions through Panama in order to service the sugar plantations. But not all blacks in Trujillo were slaves - in fact, by 1793, 38.5% of the population of Trujillo city were free.[117] Except for the few unnamed individuals who the watercolors portray as *zambos* and *mulattos* of means, these men and women are not discussed in Martínez Compañón's blueprint of reform.[118] Perhaps the fact that many of them were already skilled in manual trades[119] meant that in his estimation, they had already achieved the skills necessary to make them useful and self-sustaining plebe. Also overlooked are their rural counterparts who lived in villages and on *haciendas* alongside native laborers, although as Rachel O'Toole has recently shown, they were an essential thread in the fabric of rural agrarian society.[120]

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[116] John R. Fisher, *Bourbon Peru, 1750-1824*, Liverpool Latin American Studies, New Series 4 (Liverpool, 2003), 82.

[117] Paul Rizo-Patrón Boylan and Cristóbal Aljovín de Losada, "La élite nobilaria de Trujillo de 1700 a 1830," in *El Norte en la Historia Regional - Siglos XVIII-XIX*, ed. Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy and Yves Saint-Geours (Lima, 1998), 244.

[118] See Chapter Five for the discussion of free black artisans. The work of Ricardo Morales was very helpful to me here. Ricardo Morales, "Arquitectura virreynal - Don Evaristo, un alarife negro en Trujillo," *Arkinka* 11 (1996). Ricardo Morales, "La Cathedral de Trujillo del Peru (algunas notas para su historia)," *Plaza Mayor* 20 (1985).

[119] Ricardo Morales, "Los Pardos Libres en el arte virreinal de Trujillo del Perú (siglos XVIII y XIX)," in *A propósito de Raúl Porras Barrenechea. Viejos y nuevos temas de cultura Andina.*, ed. Antonio Garrido Aranda (Cordoba, 2001).

[120] Rachel Sarah O'Toole, "'In a War Against the Spanish': Andean protection and African resistance on the Northern Peruvian Coast," *The Americas* 63 (July, 2006).

This was the situation in the bishopric and city of Trujillo when Martínez Compañón arrived. It was wealthy in terms of space (it covered 150,000 kilometers[121]) and it featured an extraordinary geographic and climactic diversity, from the lowland jungle regions of the Indian missions of Hibitos y Cholones, to the highland peaks of Cajamarca, and the coastal desert climate of its capital city, Trujillo was the only bishopric that encompassed all of Peru's climactic regions. In the countryside, Spanish landowners exploited the plebeian classes to the best of their abilities. Poor roads made transport incredibly difficult, and as a result, making contact with the outside world a slow and laborious process.

Little city infrastructure, a decreasing urban population, and corrupt local officials stressed the colonial administration in the cities. The Corregidor, the notoriously corrupt Marqués de Bellavista, has been described as "not exactly a good governor," a despotic man who bullied other bureaucrats through fear and intimidation.[122] Although there were plenty of ecclesiastics (Trujillo city was home to the Franciscans, Dominicans, Mercederians, Augustinians, and Bethlehemites, as well as two nunneries), intellectual life was far from stimulating. The city would not have its own university until the Independence period, and it seems to have had none of the *tertulias*, periodicals, or research efforts characteristic of an intellectually vibrant city.[123]

In Trujillo, Martínez Compañón found that he had entered what he would later refer to as an "isolated retreat." The absence of an intellectual or scientific culture there must have been isolating to the young man who had been so engaged in Lima. The existing documentation from his time in Trujillo gives no suggestion of enjoying friendly exchanges or loaning books. He mentions no close friends or houses that he regularly visited in Trujillo. Instead, it seems that the Bishop lived the social and intellectual aspects of his life through his voluminous correspondence with individuals in Lima and in Spain. Despite his complaints that once promoted to Bishop he received fewer letters, Martínez Compañón still valued written correspondence. He believed that letter writing was "like a conversation, wherein because of distance or absence, then pen does what

[121] Restrepo, *Sociedad y Religión*..., 53.
[122] Ibid, 48.
[123] Carlos Daniel Valcárcel Esparza, *Historia de la educacion colonial - Tomo II* (Lima, 1968), 80.

the tongue would do if possible."[124] On one occasion he admitted a main reason he engaged in this conversation was that "no one needs the warnings and advice of his friends more than a Bishop."[125]

While unfortunately the vast bulk of the Bishop's correspondence has not survived as part of the archival records, one set of letters the Bishop wrote to Antonio and Agustin Hermeregildo de Querejazu illuminate the frustrations and joys of being a Bishop and the many difficulties of working and living in Trujillo. The Hermeregildos were the father and son of a prominent Lima family of Basque bureaucrats - Antonio was a judge or *oidor* of the Audiencia de Lima. with whom the Bishop maintained close personal relations. These letters detail the progress of Martínez Compañón's reforms, discuss Peru's new viceroy, and show concern for the welfare of friends and family in Spain.

The letters between the Bishop and the Hermeregildos span a period of fourteen years, during which Martínez Compañón wrote faithfully to the family twice a month even after he assumed his new post as Archbishop of Santa Fé. Private and emotional, they provide a humanizing perspective on a powerful Bishop. During the Bishop's active writing years, themes of scientific research recur in his correspondence. His letters reveal that he shared an affinity for natural history with the Hermeregildos, who assisted him with longitudinal measurements of the Peruvian coast, loaned him scientific books, collected seeds for his natural history collections, and even sent him reports on the culture and dances of the Afro-Peruvians of the central coastal area.[126] They also helped to keep him reasonably up-to-date on current events. From his relatively isolated position in Trujillo, the Bishop cherished their reports from Lima, which contained news about the Tupac Amaru rebellion to the South and the ever-troubling movements of British ships along the coasts of the American kingdoms. In return for bits of news, Martínez Compañón dispatched homespun medical advice to his friends in Lima.

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[124] "Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 10 July, 1780." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.
[125] Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 10 June, 1781." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727.
[126] "Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu," various. Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia D1-25-727, legajos 564, letter 64; and 727, letters 89, 92, and 94.

The intimate nature of these exchanges belies current perceptions of typical male discourse in the colonial period. The men not only shared their physical aches and psychological worries; they also suggested homemade recipes and cures. Martínez Compañón, for example, espoused the healing powers of chicken broth and recommended cooked apples with sugar for stomach problems – a remedy that is, in fact still employed in Northern Peru. He advocated the benefits of rest – "time permitting, leave once in a while for a few days in the country," he told Antonio.[127] But he was quick to point out that too much rest could lead to feelings of isolation and depression. In a subsequent letter he admonished, "It doesn't seem good to me that you stay in bed and don't shave or change your clothes."[128] (Incidentally, he also mentioned that this could lead to lice infestations.) Perhaps his most amusing advice was to the younger Augustín, concerning problematic foot perspiration. The Bishop wrote that he, too, had experienced sweaty feet, and had overcome the problem by staying in bed for one extra half-hour after waking up, and taking special care to cover his feet well during the day. The letters do not tell if this remedy ever worked for Augustín. Martínez Compañón also complained of his own poor health throughout the letters, most often mentioning headaches and colds. Given his remote location, he had little choice but to make use of self-diagnosis and time-tested remedies.

Yet, the question still arises – why would he bother to so freely dispense amateur medical advice to an elite family of Lima, who surely had access to doctors and the means to pay them? It seems that the Bishop had a certain lack of faith in the experience of doctors. "The miserable bad things never happen to them," he wrote with an ironic tone, "regardless of their skills and medical expertise."[129] He noted the lack of doctors and medications in Trujillo, where there were no schools to provide official medical or pharmaceutical training.

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[127] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Heremeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 10 September, 1788." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera.
[128] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 25 September, 1788." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera.
[129] "Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu, undated." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera, letter 128.

It is also likely that Martínez Compañón was in step with the Spanish Enlightenment culture of medical treatment. The most well known figure of the Enlightenment in Spain, Benedictine monk Benito Feyjóo, believed that patients could decipher through trial and error what the best medications were for their particular problems. His 1733 *Self Medication, or the art of keeping your health through instinct* was widely read and referenced throughout the Spanish Kingdoms. Ironically, in all his discussions of sickness and cures, the Bishop did not recommend any native plants or share any of the data he must have been collecting from local informants. Perhaps he thought his friends in Lima would scoff at such suggestions, possibly while he sought to catalog and study these plants, he was not entirely convinced of their efficacy.

Just as the Bishop was concerned with the physical well being of his dear friends, he was preoccupied with their mental health as well. For instance, some of the Bishop's advice to Augustín, the younger of the Hermeregildos, was quite practical. "You need to be more careful with the pen than with the tongue, especially in certain places and times," he cautioned.[130] A main theme of his advice was how virtuous behavior was the ultimate goal of the enlightened man. "Nothing in this life is worth anything but virtue," he told Don Augustín in another letter.[131] Much of Martínez Compañón's advice to Augustín reflected this notion of detachment. "If you would like to sleep soundly," he wrote, "promise yourself not to do anything in this life just to gratify men."[132] In one particularly intimate letter, the Bishop advised that in difficult times, it was important to remember that men have no control over events that are pre-determined by God, and it is best to let go of any desire to influence them. The letter reads like this:

> According to what the professors say, there is no other thing that brings more bitterness to life than death. I have many times thought about this while I have held a knife over the nape of my neck. In this very difficult situation I am able to reassess and take heart by remembering the fact that in God's book, everything

[130] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 1788." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera, letter 71.
[131] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 25 August, 1780." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera.
[132] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, August, 1781." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera.

> has an end, we have no appeal to change it, and it wouldn't be good for us if we could.[133]

With these revealing details, the Bishop seems to confess that even such a hopeful and busy man as himself worried about the futility of his efforts. To combat this anxiety, he viewed the world with detachment. Through practicing impartiality one could, he wrote, "come to know the world and let it turn… not in wonder, nor in admiration, nor as advantageous or adverse." Rather, one should handle matters with a measure of distance and men should find their own answers within themselves. "You have within you a good teacher," the Bishop wrote. "Study always his conduct, and you will find him right in practicing all that I espouse to you."[134]

[133] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 25 October, 1788." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera.
[134] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, 25 July, 1788." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera.

Martínez Compañón's *Visita*[135]

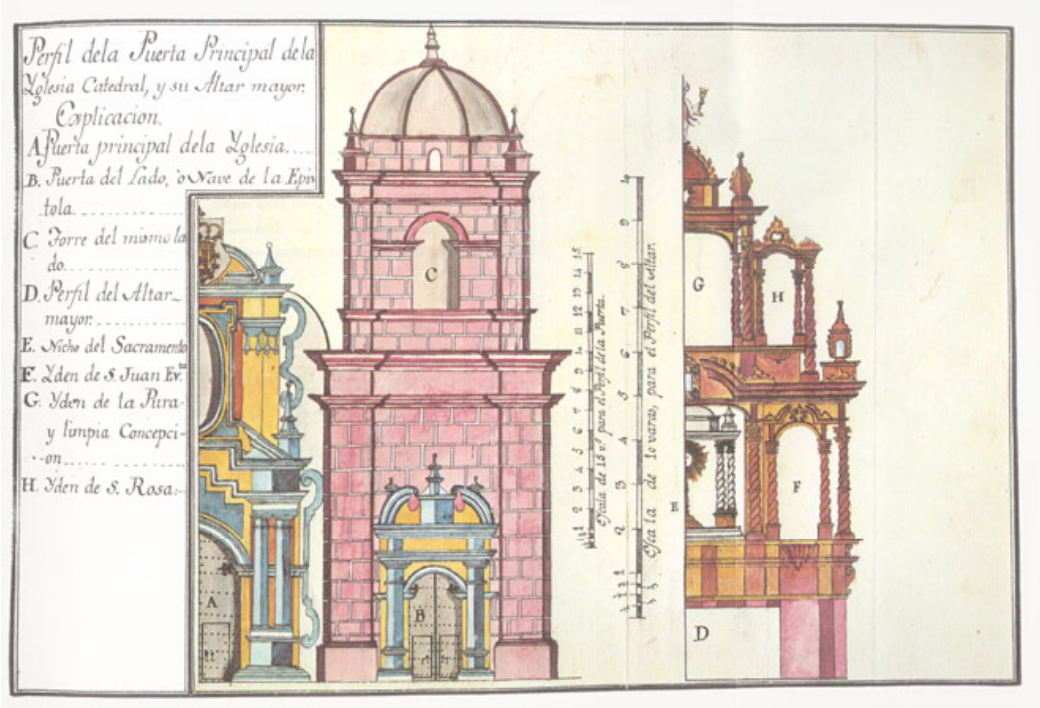

Figure 2.5. Profile of the main door of the Cathedral Church and its main Altar, *Trujillo del Perú*, Volume One. Although the captions for the nine volumes do not indicate authorship of any of the images, this series of the Cathedral appears to be the work of an individual with at least some official training.

This measured self confidence served Martínez Compañón well during his time in Trujillo, but was especially important while he was establishing his authority and assessing the problems and needs of the bishopric. Trujillo's difficulties spanned the economic, the social, and the ecclesiastic. For instance, the Bishop learned almost immediately that since the 1777 death of his predecessor, Bishop Francisco Javier de la Luna, bitter disputes and infighting had paralyzed the ecclesiastical cabildo of Trujillo. Episcopal authorities and parish priests also quarreled over the arancel or fee schedule

[135] In this section, I am relying for basic narrative on Daniel Restrepo's painstaking archival re-creation of Martínez Compañón's visita, found in Restrepo, "Vida y Hechos de Martínez Compañón."

for services such as weddings and funerals. These discrepancies inspired Martínez Compañón to undertake a massive project of surveying and reforming clergy and cabildo incomes and expenditures at all levels. But this was not his only task of church reorganization. In other ecclesiastical matters, the Bishop completed a clerical census in July 1780, rebuilt the San Carlos Colegio, and visited the nearby Indian parishes of San Sebastián and Santa Ana.[136] Daniel Restrepo has argued that these extensive investigations and projects amount to a "profound clerical reform" of Trujillo.[137]

Matters were further complicated by the fact that Trujillo's cathedral itself had yet to be repaired from the mid-century series of earthquakes, especially the damaging tremors of 1759, which destroyed its tabernacle, sacristy, and towers.[138] The neo-classical façade he imagined for it is in fact the same façade the cathedral has today, as figures 2.5, 2.6 and 2.7 indicate.

Rebuilding the cathedral was not the only architectural endeavor of this period of Martínez Compañón's times in Trujillo – in fact, many of his efforts in this period were architectural and decorative. Typically he sought to replace the earlier baroque décor and paintings with contemporary, more sober rococo style.[139] Daniel Restrepo has surmised that during this time, Martínez Compañón worked closely with a small team of tradesmen, including mural painters who created on the walls of his re-construction projects brilliant religious scenes that were quite similar to those in the watercolors of the nine volumes.[140]

[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Compañón, "Actas de Cabildo Eclesiastico, "Las Vidas de los Obispos de Trujillo.""
[139] Morales, "La Cathedral de Trujillo del Peru (algunas notas para su historia)."
[140] Restrepo, "Vida y Hechos de Martínez Compañón," 53.

Figure 2.6. Plan that shows the Profile of the Door of the Cathedral Church and the Façade of the Tribunal de Diezmos, *Trujillo del Perú*, Volume One.

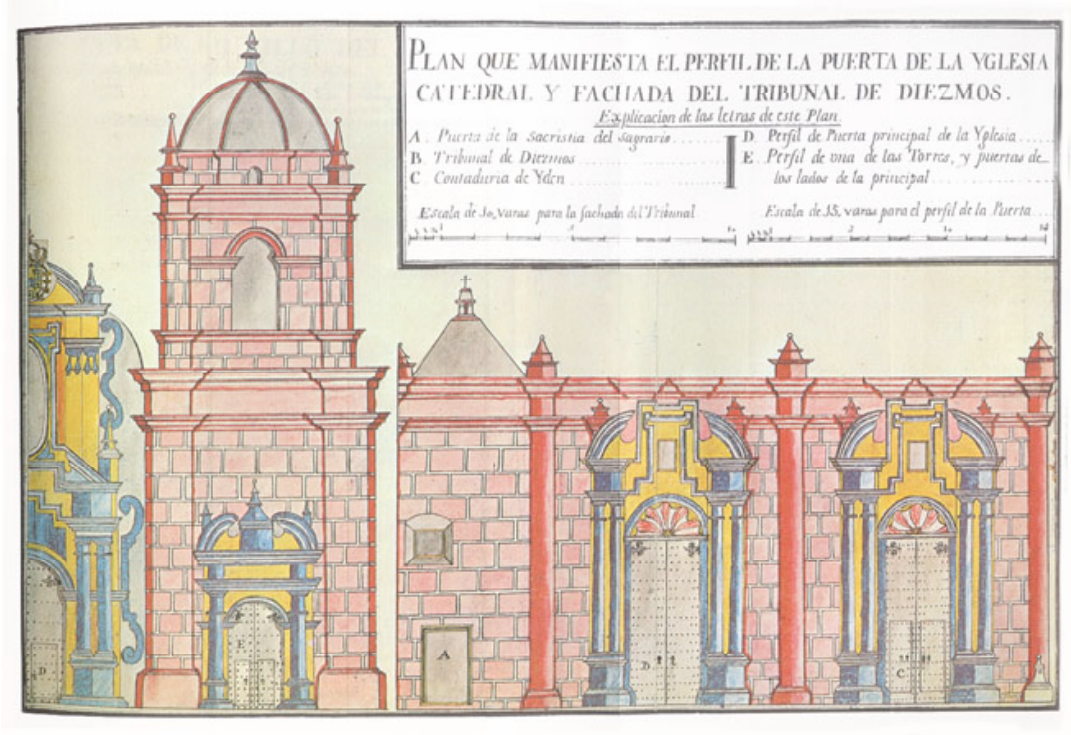

Figure 2.7. A modern photograph of Trujillo's Cathedral.[141]

[141] http://www.horizonsunlimited.com/tstories/welton/images/02_trujillo.JPG

Ricardo Morales has suggested that many of these individuals were likely drawn from Trujillo's large population of free black artisans.[142]

Such projects had to be set aside when in September 1780, only three months after officially assuming his bishopric, Martínez Compañón had to contend with a small tax rebellion in the town of Otusco, in the highland Huamachuco province.[143] Local Indians were angry that the new census bid them to pay tribute, while under the old census, they had been exempt. The Bishop quickly sent a pastoral letter to the local priest, Bernabé Antonio Caballero, authorizing him to correct the situation as he best saw fit.

In a second letter dated on the subsequent day, September 14, the Bishop encouraged the priest to explain the role of taxation in government. He was to remind the people of the "profound subordination and submission in which they should live to the Sovereign and the ministers who represent his royal authority." To make this clear to his flock, he was to discuss with them several main themes. The first was "natural law," which the Bishop explained as the custom that "the minor respect and revere he who is older…and that the son is subject to and obeys…the will of his father." He directly referenced he two metaphorical fathers who governed Hispanic society: the King, and above him, God. Men had to obey all laws handed down by the King, as he was an absolute power representative of God.

Due to the delicate situation in Otusco and the multitude of tasks he faced in the city of Trujillo, Martínez Compañón had to delay his *visita* departure. But by March 1782, he wrote to Viceroy Juareguí, explaining that he was prepared to begin his *visita* to the rest of the bishopric in May. The Viceroy permitted him to do so, and in a decree from April 11, 1782, Martinez Compañón alerted the parish priests of his impending arrival.

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[142] Chapter five's discussion of the watercolor of a "sambo" artisan (figure 5.17), possibly Thomas Rodríguez, elaborates on this possibility. Morales, "Arquitectura virreynal - Don Evaristo, un alarife negro en Trujillo." Morales, "Los Pardos Libres en el arte virreinal de Trujillo del Perú (siglos XVIII y XIX)."

[143] Here I am relying on documents reproduced in Peréz Ayala, *Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, Prelado Español de Colombia y el Peru*., but in the manuscript I will go back into the original documentation.

But rather than demanding the lavish ceremony and ritual that would typically accompany a bishop's visit, he cautioned restraint and sobriety in their preparations. He cautioned that they were not to arrange for more than three dishes to be served at the midday meal, two at dinner, and one dessert. In areas with no houses for his party's lodging, he forbade priests to order the construction of any structures for their use. "I have decided," the Bishop wrote, "to bring a tent in which we will stay in those places."[144]

However, while the priests and their assistants were not to furnish creature comforts, they were bidden to prepare for the Bishop's arrival by gathering information to answer a specific questionnaire he sent throughout the diocese. Like the hundreds of official crown inquiries that preceded them, these questionnaires were based on the *relaciónes geográficas*, were an extensive set of social, political, and economic questions King Phillip II sent to officials throughout New Spain in 1578. Although Martínez Compañón's questionnaires focus on contemporary concerns, they were representative of this long-standing tradition in the Hispanic empire.[145] The first of these dealt with ecclesiastical matters, and was intended to assure that the priests had the records of parish income and expenses in order prior to his arrival. He inquired about chaplaincies, *cofradía* records, local priests, and their assistants. Daniel Restrepo utilized these responses in his meticulously researched work on the Catholic Church in Trujillo during Martínez Compañón's tenure there, entitled *Sociedad y Religion en Trujillo (Perú), Bajo el Episcopado de Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, 1780-1790*.[146]

While he would not allow luxurious preparations, Martínez Compañón also requested that parish priests prepare a set of answers to a second set of questions with an entirely different focus. When parish priests from Chicama to Tumbes unsealed the letter from April 14, 1782, they found a clear indication of just how influential Martínez

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[144] "Pastoral Letter of Martínez Compañón, Trujillo, 14 April, 1782." Seville: Archivo General de Indias, Cartas y expedientes: curiosidades para el Jardín Botanico, Lima 798.

[145] On the relaciónes geográficas, see especially Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciónes Geográficas* (Chicago, 1996), as well as Francisco de Solano and Pilar Ponce, eds., *Cuestionarios para la formación de las Relaciónes Geográficas de Indias, siglos XVI-XIX* (Madrid, 1988.)

[146] I have not yet surveyed these answers to the questionaire, but during manuscript revisions will return to look at my documents from Colombia in order to better understand these sources.

Compañón believed a Bishop of Trujillo and the outcome of his *visita* could be. It instructed them to provide detailed information on the following subjects:

> 1. What is the character and natural inclination of the natives of this *doctrina* [Indian parish], and if they understand, and speak Castilian. If they are applied to their work or not. If there is any noticeable difference between Indians, Spanish, and other *castas*, as much in this or in their customs. And if this is attributed to differences in their education, or to some other natural or accidental principle. And what is the education they usually give to their children.
>
> 2. If the weather and climate is beneficial, and if… the…[territories]…of your jurisdiction are reputed to be healthy or sick, and to what they attribute whichever of these two qualities…are prevalent. Which are the most common sicknesses, and their causes, and the common medicines used to cure them, and [what is] the age to which its inhabitants typically live.
>
> 3. If there might be news that any of the towns belonging to this *doctrina* have been ruined, [have] disappeared, or moved to another place, and the cause of the one or the other.
>
> 4. At what age they usually marry…in this *doctrina*. By which hand they usually arrange marriages. If there are any celibates, and [where] this virtue most frequently found, both in terms of the *castas* and in terms of the sexes.
>
> 5. If one finds increased or not the number of *vecinos* and *moradores,*[147] both in this capital and in its annexes, with respect to the information that the censuses and old books, or the traditions of the towns. And what is the total of this augmentation or diminution, and if it is of Indians or other *castas*, and to what cause they attribute it.
>
> 6. If either within this principal town or its annexes, or surrounding areas begin any sources [of water], if these are the waters that serve for the common use of the people, and if in these they might have noted any particular quality, and what it might be.
>
> 7. If a river runs through its land or its borders, what they call it, where it has its beginnings, if they make use of its waters, and if they are known to be healthy. If it is navigable and if it has a bridge, and if not having a bridge if it would be possible to build one, and how much, more or less, its construction would cost.
>
> 8. What crops they harvest, and their quality, how much the fields produce, and what is the method, form, and season of doing their planting, cultivating, and harvesting.

[147] *Vecinos* indicates landowning townspeople, while *moradores* formed a separate category of non-landowning citizens. Jay Kinsbruner, *The Colonial Spanish-American City. Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism.* (Austin, 2005), chapter four.

9. If they keep any commerce, what, and of what kind, with towns or provinces, and what utilities it produces, and whether there might be some method or means of advancing it.

10. If there are any *ingenios*, *estancias, obrajes* or *haciendas* of food crops, what are their profits, if tribute is charged to them, how much they are charged and how many workers they maintain. And if among them there are any *mitayos*, what salaries they pay them, and how they are paid.

11. If there are any minerals, which they are, how they mine them, and what they produce.

12. If there are any medicinal herbs, branches, or fruits, which they are, what are their shape, and the virtue of each one of them, and the mode of applying and using them.

13. If there are any mineral waters, and if there are if they are hot or temperate, sulfurous, nitrous, ferrous, or of another quality, what use they made of them, and to what effect.

14. If there are any resins or fragrant balsams, which they are, and what virtue they attribute to them.

15. If there are any strange birds or carnivorous animals, or any poisonous animals or insects, and if there are any of these, what precautions those who live around them take.

16. If there are any woods, their abundance, and qualities, the use they make of them, or might be able to make of them.

17. If there are any structures from the times before the conquest that are notable for their material, form, grandness, or any vestiges of that. If at any time they have found any huge bones that seem to be human. And whether they have any tradition that in some time there might have been giants, and in the places where they might have had them, for what time, when did they become extinct and for what reason, and what support the people have for the said legend.

18. If in the Indians one sees anything that smells of superstition, about what points and which are the reasons to distrust, or believe it, and what methods would be the most effective to extirpate them with respect to [the Indians'] character, inclinations, ideas, and customs.[148]

A brief analysis of this questionnaire sets the scene for Martínez Compañón's *visita*. In this survey of local resources, what Martínez Compañón considers to be the primary

[148] "Pastoral Letter of Martínez Compañón, Trujillo, 14 April, 1782." Seville: Archivo General de Indias, Cartas y expedientes: curiosidades para el Jardín Botanico, Lima 798.

asset of the bishopric is obvious – its people. And who he believes to be its most important inhabitants – the Indians – is also readily apparent. The subsequent questions indicate that he wanted to survey the level of Hispanicization in different arenas, including language, work, and education, all of which stand out as key themes in his general political economy efforts. More unexpected is how Martínez Compañón asked the parish priest whether any notable differences between Indians and other population groups was due to education or mere coincidence. He sets up the "nature or nurture" question of Indian difference. While his writings do not reveal whether he was struggling with this question in his own mind or simply wanted to survey the parish priests regarding the issue, three years later he would write vehemently to parish priest José Urteaga of Chachapoyas, assuring that "the Indians are not as those stupid men would like to portray them…[those men] who have come to mistake them with beasts." It may be that he always believed in the basic equality of humankind, or it may be that the travels of his visita and his time in Trujillo convinced him that although they came from a different part of the world, had different education, and had different customs, the Indians were not inherently different from – or inferior to – European men.[149] This was a key aspect of all of his reforms, in which he demonstrated his belief that if properly educated and introduced to Hispanic dress, manners, and industry, the Indians of Trujillo could become useful vassals of the Crown and fully contributing members of Hispanic society.

Question two also suggests a major concern that was still very real in the late-eighteenth-century – the threat of death by disease and sickness. The Bishop did not simply intend to catalog common illnesses; rather he sought to find local medicines and cures. He considered whether local mineral waters or balsams could contribute to healing sickness. He asked how local groups dealt with poisonous animals. Question twelve directly inquires about medicinal herbs, branches, and fruits; soliciting information about their existence, qualities, and the method of employing them. Presumably the information the Bishop gathered from the answers to question twelve in some way

[149] "Martínez Compañón to José Urteaga, Trujillo, 26 June 1785." Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades, "Erección y Fundación de dos Colegios."

contributed to the massive body of information he collected on botanical medicine, which is represented in volume five of *Trujillo del Perú*.

Several points of the questionnaire also raise the population question, a major issue in such a large and relatively uninhabited bishopric. This was also a key concern of eighteenth-century improvers throughout the Atlantic world, for without a large population, a kingdom could not produce, market, or purchase the products that would sustain its finances. The third inquiry, about abandoned towns, suggests the Bishop knew that many towns had been abandoned, and he wanted to know why. He also seems to have contemplated the possibility that a low birth rate adversely affected population statistics (question four.) He considered whether a lack of reliable water might have affected town population (and he soon found that many land disputes were related to water rights.) Finally, he also sought information on Spanish landowning town-dwellers, as well as those who lived in towns but did not own property.

Several points of interest suggest the Bishop's concern for developing commerce, agriculture, and mining in Trujillo. Question seven clearly shows that he looked for navigable rivers with bridges, or at least where bridges could be built, so that ships could transport goods and so that people could more readily travel from one population center to the next. He knew that many of his projects would necessitate great amounts of wood for buildings, ships, and the like, and in question sixteen he asked about wood. (In the natural history collections, wood was a concern as well; box twenty of his collections contained samples of at least twenty-three local woods, including boxwood and pine from Jaen.)[150] Martínez Compañón also inquired about the agricultural productivity and methods of the region's peoples, and also wanted to know if they had any commercial ties to other local groups. He wanted to know if there were any mines in the region. He asked about large-scale production and cultivation on *obrajes, haciendas*, and the like, and he also wanted to know if any native laborers or *mitayos* had been assigned to these operations. He requested information on whether the said *mitayos* were paid, and if so, in what. This was an appropriate question because with his

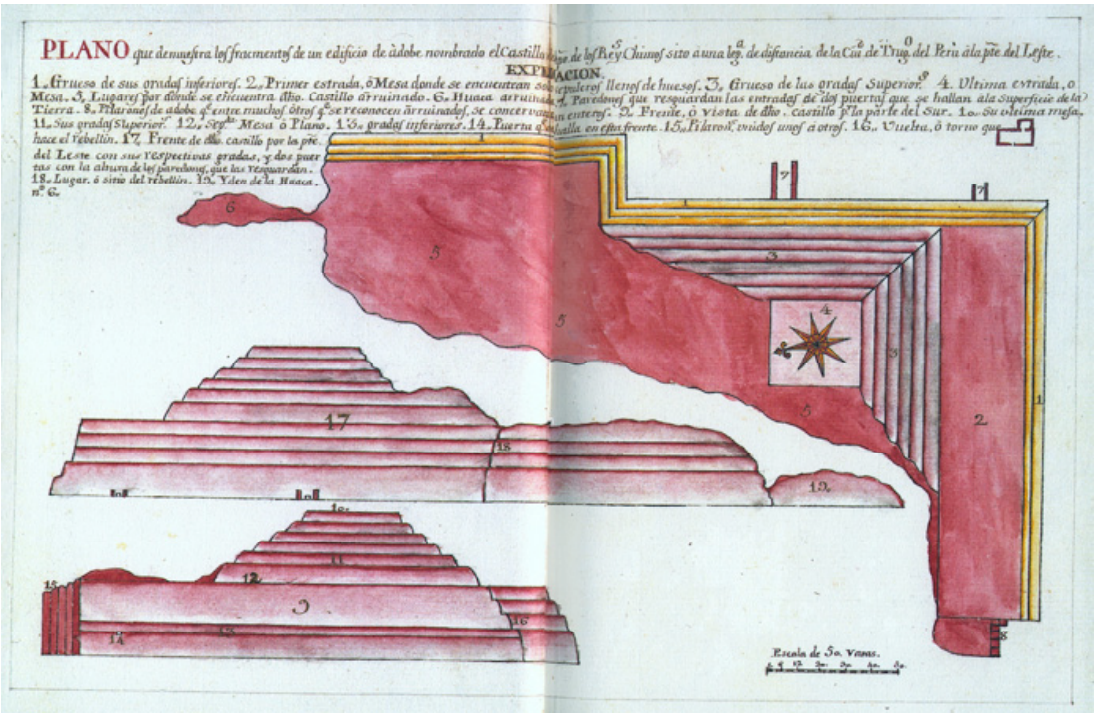
[150] "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa." Sevilla: Archivo General de las Indias, Lima 798, box 20.

efforts to reform the labor situation at the Hualgayoc mine, Martínez Compañón was well aware that workers who were paid in kind rather than in cash did not have the economic independence that allowed them to participate in the modern system of commerce the Bishop envisioned as integral to Trujillo's future.

All of these areas of inquiry reveal the Bishop to be the pragmatic, utilitarian reformer his time in Trujillo would prove that he was. Question seventeen however, stands out from these concerns about improvement. Here, Martínez Compañón inquired about pre-Hispanic structures in Trujillo. This obviously reflected the growing interest in archaeology in the Spanish Kingdoms at that time – while in Naples, Charles III had been closely involved with archaeological excavations at Pompeii and Mount Vesuvius, even creating the Museo Portici to showcase objects.[151] At the same time, Spanish archaeologists were beginning to work with the Mayan ruins of Palenque in central Mexico.[152]

[151] Maria de los Angeles Calatayud Arinero, "El Real Gabinete de Historial Natural de Madrid," in *Carlos III y la Ciencia de la Ilustración*, ed. Manuel Selles, Jose Luis Peset and Antonio Lafuente (Madrid, 1988), 264.
[152] Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, "Introducción," in *Trujillo del Perú -- Appendice II* (Madrid, 1994), 12.

Figure 2.8. Map that shows the fragments of an adobe building called the castle of the Temple of the Chimu Kings, *Trujillo del Perú,* volume nine.



Within the same question, however, the Bishop also asks if the remains of any giants have been found, and whether any local legends suggest the existence of giants. When read together, these two aspects of this question form an enticing link between Martínez Compañón's natural history research and the much-publicized contemporary debate over the supposed inferiority of the nature and peoples of the New World. Perhaps he believed that if he could prove that "gentile" or pre-contact Indians could erect intricate, imposing structures he could extract them from the cycle of negative accusations by definitively proving their innate capabilities. Interestingly, the question of giants is related. Some natural historians believed that if the existence of giants in America could be definitively proved, then Comte de Buffon's assertion that American

men were inherently smaller and weaker would be negated.[153] Presumably this is what Martínez Compañón was thinking when he included supposed giant artifacts in his natural history collections. Found in the Huamachuco province, these included an "already half petrified" portion of a femur bone, a tooth that "seems to be of a giant found in the same place," and part of a sacrum bone also found there.[154]

Most likely because he addressed such matters more fully in his separate ecclesiastical questionnaire, it is only in the last question that we see Martínez Compañón turning to the authoritarian role of moral enforcer. Here he asks for news of "anything that smells of superstition" among the Indians. However, he does not adopt the stereotypically harsh tone of an extirpator. Instead, he inquires whether there might be reasons to believe in said superstitions, and then asks how one might best eradicate them, based on the circumstances of the particular group.

Unfortunately, who responded to these inquiries, when, and with what information cannot be known, as none of the responses to the natural history questionnaire have been found. Daniel Restrepo assumes this might mean that the Bishop collected the answers while he was in transit and then disposed of the original paperwork.[155] However, he also confirms that much of the information in the nine volumes of watercolors and the collection inventory "can be considered as the ultimate result of these answers."[156]

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[153] Joseph Alva Dager, *Hipólito Unanue, o el Cambio en la Continuidad* (Lima, 2000), 93. The political uses of giants are also discussed in chapter three of Antonello Gerbi, *The Dispute of the New World - The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900*, Jeremy Moyle trans. (Pittsburgh, 1973).
[154] "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.,"
[155] Restrepo, "Vida y Hechos de Martínez Compañón," 57.
[156] Ibid., 58.

Figure 2.9. Topographical map of Trujillo, Volume One.

These queries, then, were what the Bishop requested priests prepare for his departure. With that letter safely dispersed throughout the dioceses, he began his *visita* when he departed Trujillo for the city of Lamas in the jungle province of Motilones de Lamas on June 21, 1782. He brought with him a team that included Pedro de Echevarri, a missionary, a chaplain, a notary, a scribe, a Spaniard named Antonio de Narbona (who strangely does not reappear in the documentation), and six slaves to service the group.[157]

After an arduous journey through the mountainous Cajamarca region, across the Marañón river in Chachapoyas, and through the isolated jungle region East of Chachapoyas, Martínez Compañón and his party arrived in their first designated destination, the city of Motilones de Lamas. Their task there was to resolve a

[157] Ibid., 59.

longstanding dispute between the citizens of the city of Motilones and the townspeople of nearby Tarapoto over water rights. The conflict was never resolved. However, the Bishop did find in this jungle region plenty of inspiration for the watercolors of his nine volumes, including mountain lions and scorpions.[158]

Next Martínez Compañón continued towards the city of Moyobamba, also in a jungle zone. Moyobamba was a largely indigenous region with a small and dispersed population. In order to remedy this situation, on 7 September 1782, he founded a new town that would combine previously disparate groups. He named it Santo Toribio de la Nueva Rioja, after Bishop Toribio, whose work with the Indians had so inspired him.[159] Daniel Restrepo writes that today, La Rioja remains a thriving city.

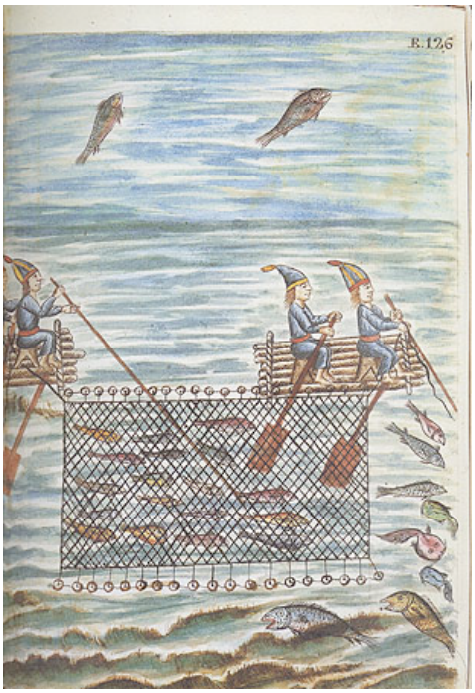

Figure 2.10. Indians fishing with net, from *Trujillo del Perú*, volume two. Presumably this image was based on observing the fishing industry of the port city of Paita.

The visita continued in the province of Chachapoyas, also in the jungle region. The treacherous roads to Chachapoyas from Moyobamba inspired him to open a new more direct road between the two cities. He also spent time investigating local industry, wherein textiles were dominant. Finally, he founded a primary school for children that is pictured in figure 3.7 but seems to have failed before it got off the ground (see chapter three.) His travels took him next to the province of Jaén, which was at the time administratively linked to the Audiencia de Quito. It is likely for this reason that no documentation surrounding this part of the *visita* survives in Spain or Peru.

[158] Ibid, 65.
[159] Ibid.

By January 1783, the Bishop was back in Peru and in the province of Piura. This was the largest province, with 40,000 kilometers of area, but it had only twelve Indian parishes or curatos. This inspired many town relocation projects. Also the colorful carnival celebrations of its inhabitants were the subjects of many of the watercolors in volume two. By March 23, he had journeyed south towards the port city of Paita. Restrepo asserts that the fishing images in volume two of *Trujillo del Perú* were created based on observing local fishermen in Paita. In early April, he journeyed on to the city of Piura, where Parish Priest José Luis Freyre Orbegoso greeted him. Orbegoso was a man who Restrepo describes as a "great collaborator and unconditional supporter of the Bishop and his reform efforts."[160]From the city he made short trips to the countryside, many of which introduced him to the widespread lack of water in the region. He also worked on reforming the ecclesiastical bureaucracy of Piura, and tried to respond to several petitions he received from local inhabitants asking him to found new towns with more advantageous locations.

The next leg of the Bishop's journey, through the vast Sechura desert, was one of the most difficult. Restrepo confirms that there was such a lack of water that a slight miscalculation in route might mean extra hours of thirst and endanger one's life. The party also faced violent Southerly winds that blew sand into their eyes. Martínez Compañón stopped briefly in the town of Sechura, then Monsefú, and then Reque before finally arriving on June 17, 1783 in the city of Saña, the capital of the province by the same name.

Although Saña had once been a prosperous agricultural province, by the time the Bishop's party arrived, natural disasters and pirate attacks had taken their toll. It was no longer the main city of the province; that honor now fell to Lambayeque, with its 10,000 inhabitants, and soap, wool, and dye industry. In Lambayeque the Bishop set up plans to found a *Seminario de Operarios Ecclesiasticos*, although all indications suggest that this never actually happened.

In October, the Bishop turned back towards the Andes and traveled to the silver mines of Hualgayoc, near Cajamarca, in the Huambos province. He was aware of the

[160] Ibid, 70.

problematic situation with the mine before he even arrived, and he knew that outdated techniques and corruption at all levels impeded its advancement. So he set about designing an intricate mining reform plan.

A gap in archival information leaves the next few months somewhat unclear, but in September, Martínez Compañón arrived in Cajamarca, the second largest city of the diocese, for a stay of two months. Situated in the Andean *sierra*, Cajamarca had flourishing industries in wool, cattle, and textiles. It was also here that Martínez Compañón met Miguel de Espinach, a rich mine and *hacienda* owner. Espinach would collaborate with the Bishop on the Hualgayoc reforms, and Daniel Restrepo has argued that it is he who created many of the maps for *Trujillo del Perú*.

After his time in Cajamarca, the Bishop traveled in December to the isolated province of Cajamarquilla. Here he again focused his efforts on redistributing the population through reorganizing *curatos* and founding new towns. It was also in Cajamarquilla that Martínez Compañón first received news of the passing of the Ordinance of Intendants, a Bourbon administrative restructuring that replaced corrupt local corregidores with theoretically uninterested, more powerful Intendants. This affected his rule by making him directly responsible to the new Intendant, Fernando de Saavedra, and not Viceroy Juareguí. Restrepo comments, "this greatly delayed all of the reform plan of Martínez Compañón, which remained incomplete due to the slow bureaucracy of the administrative institutions of the time."[161]

To conclude his *visita*, Martínez Compañón spent January and February of 1785 in the province of Cajamarca, especially in its capital city of Huamachuco, which was the second largest Andean city (after Cajamarca) with a population of approximately 5000. It was here that Martínez Compañón planned to found a school for girls, as well as a hospital for Indians.[162] Then he began his journey back to Trujillo, passing through the town of Otusco, where he commissioned several more watercolors of indigenous dances, including the dances of the decapitation of the Inka.

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[161] Ibid., 78.

[162] Due to time constraints, these are excluded from the current version of chapter three. But they will be re-inserted in manuscript revisions.

The final, conclusive act of the journey was a set of decrees he promulgated from the town of Santiago de Cao. These are a general summary of the agendas of the entire *visita* and they summarize the two years, eight months, and eight days of his life he spent at this endeavor.[163] He also left behind visual evidence of his efforts, which later materialized in the form of the nine volumes of watercolors and the boxes of natural history collections. But the questions on Martínez Compañón's mind as he traveled through his *visita* are not only reflected in his natural history work. His political economy reforms also dealt with population, commerce, trade, and education, and here he created a number of decrees and ordinances to enforce them. Chapter Three, then, turns to his efforts to cultivate a "culture of improvement in Trujillo," through specifically examining his quotidian social reforms, his plans to improve operations at the Hualgayoc silver mine, and his plans for primary education throughout Trujillo.

[163] In manuscript revisions, I will go back to look at ANC, Virreyes 17, Martínez Compañón's letter to Viceroy Croix from July 15, 1785, where he comments on the difficult work of the *visita.*

Chapter Three:

Martínez Compañón's Practical Utopia

Bishops, because they are bishops, cannot stop being vassals of their kings, and functionaries of their states. Nor are they exempt from practicing with all those around them, especially with their diocesans, works of mercy, physically as well as spiritually. I gave [the miners] as proof of this truth one of the soliloquies of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, in which he said: "You are a man, you are a citizen of the world."[164]

-- Bishop Martínez Compañón recounting his experiences with the Hualgayoc miner's guild in a letter to Viceroy Teodoro de Croix of Peru, May 1786

On February 25th, 1778, King Charles III of Spain selected a young Lima Cathedral canon named Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón (1737-1797) to become the next Bishop of Trujillo, Peru. The promotion was a gesture of faith in the young man's ability to serve as an agent of the Bourbon agenda of improvement in Spanish America. With it, he joined a select group of prelates who served the Spanish Crown in functions that superceded their duties as religious leaders. These canons, bishops, and archbishops were also deeply engaged with matters of political economy. As powerful men in influential positions with financial backing, the enlightened prelates in central areas in Spain and New Spain were well equipped to gather the funds, political clout, and public consent to promote their agendas.

Martínez Compañón, however, faced a much greater challenge when attempting to remake Trujillo into the orderly, industrious province the Bourbons envisioned. Trujillo was no Toledo, and it was certainly no Mexico City. Instead, it was the poorest and most isolated diocese in a viceroyalty that had lately seen an immense decline in fortune and importance within the Spanish empire. Faced with so many challenges, how would the Bishop remake the poor, isolated, and uncultured *castas,* Indians, and *mestizos* of

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The author would like to thank Rhys Isaac for wise and thoughtful commentary on this chapter. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the August 2006 International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World at Harvard University. A slightly different version, entitled "Bishop Martínez Compañón's Practical Utopia in Enlightenment Peru" is slated to appear in the January 2008 issue of *The Americas*.

[164] "Martínez Compañón to Viceroy Croix, Trujillo, 29 May, 1786." Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Miscelánea 46, Documento 20, 602-627.

Trujillo into the church going, coat wearing, and profit-producing citizens the Bourbon administration so desired? How would his cosmopolitan agenda fare in a provincial context?

Like the peninsular reformers who molded the Hispanic Enlightenment culture of improvement, Martínez Compañón focused on promoting the common good of the people through various political economy initiatives. In addition to improving life for the people of Trujillo, these reforms would benefit the Spanish crown through increasing royal revenues. Through joining political economy with natural history, the Bishop meant to contribute to reforming the peoples and economies of the Hispanic world. His political economy and natural history efforts formed a comprehensive "science of empire" that detailed a utopian vision of how the eighteenth-century culture of improvement would best be brought to Trujillo.

Although Martínez Compañón's program was uniquely suited to the particular circumstances of Trujillo, Peru, and the Spanish empire, it was also a part of a much larger culture of imperial science that flourished in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Recent historiography has furthered understanding of the ties between politics, economics, and science in the age of Enlightenment. In the case of the British Empire, Richard Drayton has demonstrated how science, especially botany, shaped British imperial government in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Emma Spary's work situates botany as a key manifestation of the French Enlightenment discourse of "preservation and improvement." As these works aptly demonstrate, eighteenth-century imperial science was highly dependent upon botanical investigations. But some programs of science and politics extended beyond botany and into the realm of ethnography, zoology, and political economy. Such a far-ranging approach to eighteenth-century improvement was most notable in the cameralist political economy of central and Eastern Europe. In the literature of imperial science, cameralist theories are most readily apparent in Lisbet Koerner's study of Carl Linnaeus, *Nature and Nation.* Here Koerner explores the great botanist's efforts to use natural history and political economy to promote a "cameralist concept of local modernity" in which Sweden would be freed from dependence on the trade goods of imperial nations. Although Spanish

Enlightenment reformers also proposed a universal program of reform that drew on a wide array of resources, the historiography lacks a definitive work detailing the Hispanic contribution to imperial science.[165] Through exploring similarities in program and ideological connections, *The Science of Empire* explores the ways in which Spain formulated and tested imperial science.

In addition to locating Martínez Compañón's work in Trujillo as imperial science, this study also considers it as a utopian project. In designing a blueprint for an orderly and improved Trujillo, Martínez Compañón participated in a long-standing tradition of Spanish idealists who thought America could be better managed. Like Vasco de Quiroga, a sixteenth-century Bishop of Mexico who founded the communal Indian villages of Santa Fé based on Thomas More's *Utopia;*[166] Martínez Compañón imagined that his diocese could be a society free of exploitation and opportunism. He believed all Trujillans should contribute to the common good and that they should live their lives according to the tenets of Catholicism.

[165] A notable exception to this is the work of Londa Schiebinger, which, although it does not focus on the Hispanic empire, discusses botany in the Caribbean. See Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2004), Londa Schiebinger, "Prospecting for Drugs. European Naturalists in the West Indies.," in *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, ed. Londa and Claudia Swan Schiebinger (Philadelophia, 2005).

[166] On Quiroga, see Silvio Zavala, *Sir Thomas More in New Spain - A Utopian Adventure of the Renaissance* (London, 1955).

However, Martínez Compañón's utopia was not the propertyless universe envisioned by his humanist predecessor. In contrast, his Trujillo was a worldly society reflecting the Enlightenment view of the ability of commerce to maintain the finances of an empire and to promote civility and sociability among men.[167] Although these lofty notions of what J.G. Pocock has termed "commercial humanism" are most typically studied in the context of the British Atlantic, Martínez Compañón's political economy illustrates how such ideas infiltrated Iberian Enlightenment culture as well.[168] Although he did not promote laissez-faire economics in the classic sense, Martínez Compañón believed that creating a desire for manufactured goods would encourage the people of Trujillo to work more in order to be able to purchase them. Furthermore, owning the same goods as Spaniards and creoles would help them to understand European material culture and further identify with the Spanish empire. Thus, they would become ideal Bourbon subjects, proficient in industry and obedience.

Figure 3.1. This image, "Indians playing cards," from Martínez Compañón's nine volumes of watercolors entitled *Trujillo del Perú*, highlights how the Bishop imagined the masses of Trujillo should participate in the same civilized leisure activities that were popular throughout the Atlantic world.

[167] See J.G.A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce, and History. Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985). The ideas of commercial humanism are more commonly studied in the context of the British Atlantic than in the Hispanic world. The cornerstones of Smith's vision for economic modernization, laissez-faire capitalism and free international trade, were anathema to an absolutist system. However, Spain did make some concessions in the direction of modern political economy. For instance, in 1778, the Crown declared "free" trade in the port cities of the Hispanic world.

[168] These connections between Iberian and British political economy clearly outlined for the case of the Portuguese Empire in the work of Kenneth Maxwell. See his *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995) and *Naked Tropics: Essays on Empire and Other Rogues* (Routledge, 2003.)

Rebuilding and Reforming Trujillo

When Martínez Compañón first arrived in Trujillo in 1779, the Bishopric had seen better days. Along with Huamanga, Trujillo was one of the two the poorest intendancies in Peru. was plagued by low prices, high taxes, and an influx of cheaper Brazilian product plagued its main industry of sugar cane production. The once dominant landowning class had seen its fortunes and political power dwindle with the economic decline that began in the early eighteenth century. [169] As the biggest diocese in Peru, Trujillo's population centers were separated by vast expanses of inhospitable terrain. Many of these areas remained uncataloged by Crown administrators, and some were inhabited only by groups of Indians who not been introduced to Spanish lifestyles. Trujillo also lacked the roads, bridges, and transportation networks that could have fostered healthy commerce. Transforming it into the productive, orderly province the Bourbon monarchy desired would be no simple task. Despite these challenges, Martínez Compañón would imagine and implement a program of progress based on local knowledge that drew its inspiration from the Enlightenment culture of improvement.

The first order of business was to better manage plebeian quotidian life. As the main authority figures in isolated areas, parish priests were key to maintaining proper order and decorum among the masses. Accordingly, Martínez Compañón immediately sought to enlist their assistance in his plan to remake everyday life. First he entreated them to discourage among their parishioners "drunkenness and any other disorder contrary to good manners." Instead, he recommended they promote "innocent diversions that are not dangerous to the conscience...and serve…to exercise and strengthen the abilities of the body, and to distract men from the *chicherías*[170] and taverns where they usually spend their time, their salary, and their health." In place of idle drinking, he proposed games of handball, bowling, and ninepin. For women, he disapproved of

[169] For more on the decline of the sugar industry in late colonial Trujillo, see Susan Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs: Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru. (*Albuquerque, 1986.)

[170] *Chicha*, which was drunk in *chicherías*, is a traditional Andean alcoholic beverage made of fermented corn.

gambling with money, but thought that wholesome distractions included cards played with "imaginary coins made of grains of corn" for fictitious bets.[171]

The Bishop's preference for card playing was not based solely on personal enjoyment of the game. Along with tobacco, alcohol, and paper, playing cards were a profitable component of the Bourbon state monopoly system, and their purchase would help to fill Crown coffers.[172] Furthermore, card playing was fast becoming an important accoutrement of the eighteenth-century culture of civility that Martínez Compañón sought to foster in Trujillo. In the eighteenth-century Atlantic world, the card table had become, in the words of David Shields, "the great altar of sociability," a signifier and promoter of "conversation, courtship, and conviviality." [173] Martínez Compañón likely reasoned that if the plebe of Trujillo could amuse themselves like orderly Europeans, perhaps they could work like them as well. Furthermore, like the good Enlightenment activist that he was, the Bishop was well aware that public happiness brought social benefits that surpassed pleasantries. Bourbon reformer Gaspar Jovellanos put it simply in his *Note on Performances and Public Diversions* when he wrote a "happy people will be especially active and industrious."[174]

While proper amusements were important, issues of modesty and sexuality were also paramount to remaking Trujillo in the vision of the Enlightenment reformers. Martínez Compañón wanted male and female youth to sleep in separate rooms from the age of four. He decried the "abandon with which children, from their infancy…go around nude in the raw flesh…[both] inside their houses and outside on the public streets." Even worse was that these children were often seen "caressing themselves without the slightest shame or modesty…just as they would do if they were beasts." Not surprisingly, he also forbade abortion. However, the Bishop did not explain his stance

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[171] "Disposiciones sobre el culto Católico para las distintas parroquías de su diócesis, dictadas por el Excelentisimo Baltasar Jaíme Martínez Compañón," Bogotá: Archivo General de Nación, Virreyes 10, Document 15, 525-594.
[172] For more on Bourbon monopolies, see Susan Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers - The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin, 1992).
[173] David S. Sheilds, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Williamsburg, 1997), 159.
[174] Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas/Informe sobre la Ley Agraria*, ed. Gullermo Carnero (Madrid, 1998), 186.

against abortion in terms of adherence to Catholic dogma. Instead, his disapproval centered around the Enlightenment discourse of rationality. Abortion, he declared, was "an inhumanity and cruelty…contrary and repugnant to reason."[175] This was a common discourse among eighteenth-century improvers, who agreed that larger populations meant bigger workforces, more consumption of goods, and stronger imperial economies. If unchecked, abortion could detract from this equation. For instance, Empress Maria Theresa of Austria published similar edits demanding that public officials prevent plebeian women from ending their pregnancies. [176] Therefore, although the Bishop's Catholic beliefs certainly influenced his view of abortion, he also participated in a common Enlightenment discourse promoting population growth that was common throughout the Atlantic world.

Another task for the Bishop was to reform local tastes in fashion and dress. Legislating about clothing and accessories was in fact a long-standing tradition in Spanish America, and the agendas that supported such rulings typically reflected trends in political economy. Many seventeenth-century decrees prohibiting the use of fine apparel by the lower classes implied that such transgressions threatened the social system or encouraged crime.[177] True to his Bourbon Enlightenment roots, Martínez Compañón cited more pragmatic concerns in his condemnation of lascivious dress, such as the unspecified but alarming-sounding "grave accidents of modesty" he feared might befall the wearer of such ensembles, and the fact that such outfits did not provide adequate protection from cold, wet, or windy weather. But perhaps more importantly, this attire endangered what little manufacturing did exist in Spain. This is because most ubiquitous in provincial Spanish America were affordable manufactured goods produced in England and sold in America through Spanish merchants. Overall, Martínez

[175] "Disposiciones sobre el culto Católico para las distintas parroquías de su diócesis, dictadas por el Excelentisimo Baltasar Jaíme Martínez Compañón."
[176] Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815.* (Cambridge, 1994), 188.
[177] These decrees were typically intended to ameliorate the social confusion arising from the lower classes being able to assume elite identities through mimicking their appearance. Richard Konetzke, ed., *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Formación Social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810. Volumes 1 -3.* (Madrid, 1962).

Compañón was sure that the use of such clothing was “contrary to reason and to the principles of politics and the common good of men.”[178]

Introducing the people of Trujillo to “correct” Hispanic understandings of sexuality, modesty, and gender relations was key to fashioning a modern, enlightened

Figures 3.2 and 3.3. The figure on the left, a “mulatta,” wears the very style of dress the Bishop once decried as inappropriate. In the same sermon, he discussed how Indian women did not wear the same lascivious outfits, and he found their attire, such as what the figure on the right is wearing, more suited to church.

society. At the same time, exterior concerns about city planning matched these more personal issues. In rural areas where people lived in small, unstructured settlements, the Bishop sought to build Spanish-style towns. The 20 towns he imagined featured straight city blocks, central plazas, and the typical buildings of colonial bureaucracy: a church, a jail, a *cabildo* building and a cemetery. Such town plans had ample precedent

[178] "Disposiciones sobre el culto Católico para las distintas parroquías de su diócesis, dictadas por el Excelentisimo Baltasar Jaíme Martínez Compañón."

throughout the Hispanic empire, although earlier versions were typically based on coercive polities of forced resettlement and obligatory labor.[179]

In contrast, Martínez Compañón's town plans *invited* settlers and encouraged industry and civility through order and commerce. Trujillo's Indians, castas, and mestizos would not be forced to come to the towns, although once they did, Crown officials could more easily assess and collect their taxes, tribute, and labor duties. Another benefit was that it would be easier for Indians living in towns to become part of Spanish commercial life through selling their crops or goods and purchasing others. The Bishop also noted that Spanish *vecinos* could closely monitor their habits of dress, living, and worship, and also provide a good example of behavior. According to Martínez Compañón, living in such planned communities would increase productivity and hard work, and "promote in a thousand ways industry that [the Indians] do not know today." Perhaps most importantly, the towns would foster a sense of common identity, sociability, and destiny, similar to

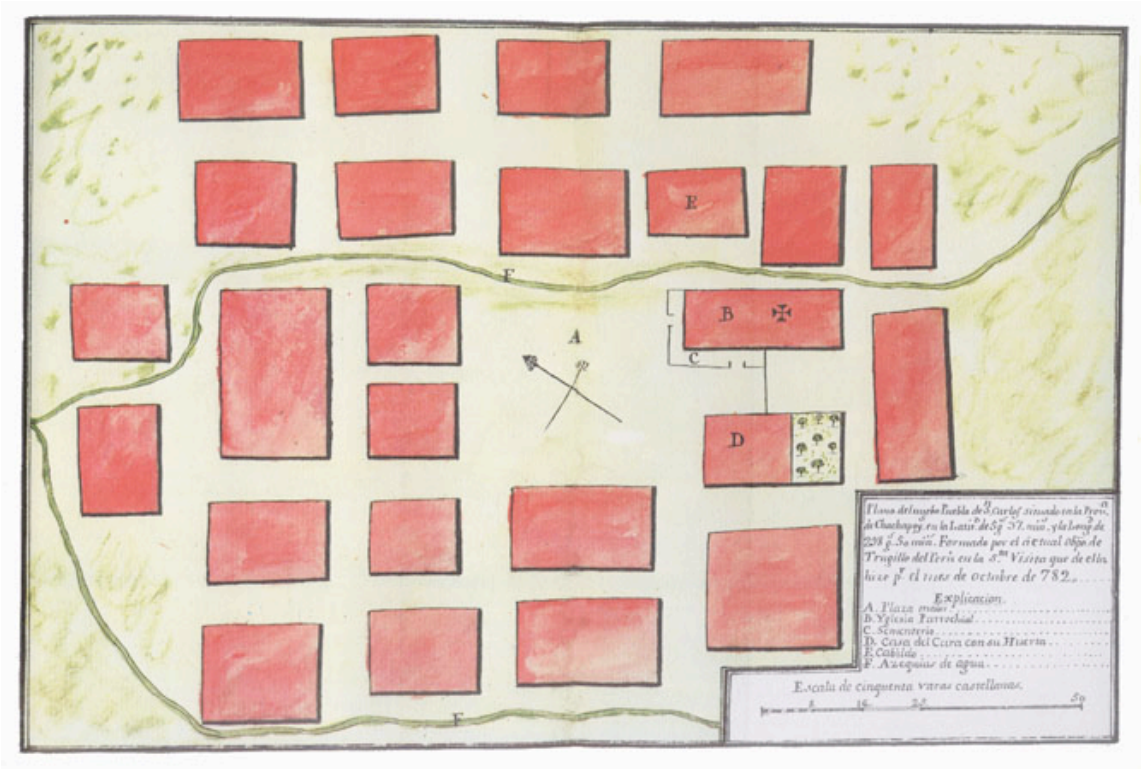
[179] In outward structure, the Bishop's town plans were quite similar to those first promulgated by Phillip II in 1573, which instructed early settlers as to how they might form a proper Spanish town with a plaza, cathedral, and straight city blocks in the wilderness of Spanish America. The instructions also warned the colonists that Indians might not be willing participants in building on what had previously been their land. Therefore, colonists were to attempt to convince the Indians to concede to the new European settlement, but "should they not consent," the Spanish were simply to proceed, "without doing [the Indians] other hurt than what may be necessary." Zelia Nuttall, "Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying Out of New Towns," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 4 (1921). Harsh measures were also a key component of the Indian *reducciones* first implemented by Viceroy Francisco Toledo of Peru (1569-1581.) Toledo intended the reductions to gather potential laborers and to put a stop to the drastic decline in Indian population that threatened Spanish colonization efforts. In fact, the reductions only promoted the spread of disease and only heightened population decline. Niether were the Indians willing participants. In fact, the Spaniards managing the reducciones "snatched Indians from their lands, burned their farms, and drove them in herds to the new settlements near work places." Naturally, Indians ran away in order to resist forced labor in the mines, physical punishment, and alienation from their ancestral communities. Margarita Durán Estragó, "The Reductions," in *The Church in Latin America 1492-1992*, ed. Enrique Dussel (London, 1992).

what David Hume described as an "increase of humanity,"[180] which would result from urbane and sociable living. Martínez Compañón was slightly more pragmatic in his understanding of the benefits of promoting commerce and agriculture, writing that people who felt more tied to their communities would develop "greater love for their fields than they have today, and in this way their rent payments will become more stable and secure."[181]

Figure 4.3. Martínez Compañón's map for one of his new towns, San Carlos, in Chachapoyas. It exhibits the typical features of the planned settlements, including the centrally located plaza mayor, a cemetery outside of the church, and an aqueduct running through the center of town. However, a letter the Bishop received from Bernardino Cuccha in 1784 claimed that the town was uninhabited because local Indians did not find enough water or fertile land there.

[180] David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary. Part II, Essay II. Of Refinement in the Arts.* (Liberty Fund, Inc., 1987 [cited); available from http://www.econlib.org/library/LFBooks/Hume/hmMPL25.html.

[181] "Sobre la fundacíon del nuevo Pueblo de Las Playas, Piura," 1783-1789. Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Virreyes 7.



Archival evidence indicates that at least four of Martínez Compañón's new towns moved past the planning stages to become functioning population centers. One of these, Amalia de Celendín, was founded in Piura in 1785. It had the straight city blocks, main plaza, church, and cemetery that the Bishop envisioned for all of his towns. A 1794 letter from the local priest informed Martínez Compañón that there were already 200 houses built there. By 1802, Celendín received the title of *villa*.[182] But what happened to the other 16 towns?

One set of clues lies in a letter sent to Martínez Compañón from Bernardino Cuccha in July 1784. Cuccha was the indigenous mayor of the town of San Carlos, a town which the Bishop founded in Chachapoyas two years earlier. He claimed that the Indians of the town despised him because of his attempts to monitor their behavior and to temper their drunkenness. He reported that instead of living permanently in San

[182] Daniel Restrepo Manrique, "Plan Reformador del Obispo Martínez Compañón," in *Trujillo del Perú -- Appendice II* (Madrid, 1994), 108.

Carlos, the Indians would inhabit their new homes for only three or four months at a time, because the land was sterile and they could not farm there. The Indians also told him that they could not attend mass because their houses were too far away from the center of the town, and they feared that if they abandoned them vagrants would invade.[183] The desperate tone of his letter suggests that the plans to found the town may not have been entirely appropriate to local reality. The few short weeks Martínez Compañón spent in Chachapoyas during his *visita* may not have provided him with the knowledge of local circumstance necessary for creating a sustainable town plan.

Another factor commonly impeding Martínez Compañón's town projects was the lack of response from administrative authorities. In 1789, Intendant Francisco Saavedra told the Bishop that the problem with implementing the plans for the towns was the "bad climate" of the area (he did not specify if he referred to the meteorological climate or the socio-political one) and the "little, or entire lack of desire [the Indians] have of fulfilling these offers." He concluded this communication with the pessimistic but insightful statement that "this kingdom, as Your Illustriousness knows, has the disgrace that no one does anything, except for his particular interest."[184]

Viceroy Teodoro de Croix demonstrated a similar technique of deferral, albeit one that was slightly less direct. He simply took years to respond to inquiries. Sometimes he might send a decree claiming he would look over the paperwork on a certain proposal and would give the Bishop an answer when he was able to do so.[185] By the time Martínez Compañón was preparing to depart for his new post as archbishop of Bogotá, Croix had yet to respond to his suggestions for the new towns. Such replies are entirely within the realm of the ordinary when examining the fate of local-level reform initiatives in Bourbon Spanish America. Perhaps in some ways the Intendant was right when he warned the Bishop of the self-interest of the Peruvians. But despite these

[183] Bernardino Cuccha, "Letter to Martínez Compañón, San Carlos, July 1784," Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Curatos.
[184] "Intendant Saavedra to Martínez Compañón, Trujillo, December 11, 1789." Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Comunicaciones Eclesiásticas, Expediente K-1-17.
[185] "Sobre la fundacíon del nuevo Pueblo de Las Playas, Piura."

admonitions, Martínez Compañón remained a man undeterred. Indeed, the projects he envisioned to reform Trujillo's mining industry were even more elaborate.

The Utopian Mining Town of Bambamarca

Much like his efforts to settle towns, Martínez Compañón's reforms at the Hualgayoc silver mine in Cajamarca did not proceed exactly according to plans. Factors such as the lack of technology, finances, and political support all hampered them. Nevertheless, they are a remarkable achievement for a man with no specific training in mining techniques or management. They also evince the same mix of innovative and traditional political economy that was the basis of the Bishop's quotidian reform plans.

The silver mines at Hualgayoc had already been operating for nine years when Martínez Compañón arrived in Trujillo. Although in its early days officials heralded Hualgayoc as a mine that "exceeded Potosí in riches and advantages,"[186] along with profit margins, such bright hopes soon faded.[187] When the disheartened owners of the various Hualgayoc mines heard that Martínez Compañón's *visita,* or his exploratory journey throughout his diocese, would soon bring him to their area, they rushed to enlist his help for their cause. Although he had no special expertise in mining, the miners regarded him as an expert on practical improvements, a "most strong proponent of moving forward the business of mining…[a man] whose capacity, prudence, and outstanding well-known talents enlighten whatever he attempts."[188] They requested that he serve as the "Director and Protector" of their guild and invited him to attend a meeting

[186] Don Joseph Thadeo Ordones, "Letter to José Gálvez, San Ildefonso, 24 September 1776," Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 1130.

[187] A number of factors affected Hualgayoc's stagnation. The Túpac Amaru rebellion, which frightened investors and slowed commerce, had also jeopardized Peru's entire mining industry. The end of the forced distribution of goods known as the *repartimiento* meant that many indigenous families were no longer obligated to work within the Spanish economy to pay for the goods they had not wanted in the first place. The creation of the new Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (today Argentina) in 1776 redirected Potosí's profits away from Lima to Buenos Aires, which further damaged Peru's economy. Finally, the British blockade of Spanish shipping during the American Revolutionary war severely impeded the importation of mercury, a necessary component of the smelting process.

[188] "Reunión de los mineros de Micuypampa y los cerros de Hualgayoc, Fuentestiona, y Tumbuachuchu con el Obispo Martínez Compañón sobre el mejoramiento de las minas," Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Virreyes 11, 839-899.

in which they would address the difficulties plaguing the mine. On the morning of October 28th 1783, Martínez Compañón and the miners met in a workshop in the nearby town of Micuypampa. The miners presented him with a list of 32 points that they had agreed would help to improve the mine. They were concerned with the lack of workers, the great distances these had to travel to the mines, and the discomfort they endured when there (although as we shall see, their sympathy had its limits.) In order to resolve these difficulties, the miners recommended the relocation of the existing towns to an area closer to the mine, where they would become part of a new town that would be named Bambamarca.

The terms in which the miners proposed to erect Bambamarca highlight how they were savvy to the Spanish tradition of town foundation. They couched their proposals in the rhetoric of official Spanish colonization schemes, agreeing to provide the necessary buildings of a civilized town, including a church, a rectory, a mayor's house, and a jail. They promised that the new city would be built in straight lines, not haphazardly. They also proposed a yearly contest to develop new mining techniques. [189] While the town foundation strategy drew on the standard Hapsburg precedents, the contest mirrored the academic competitions so often held in the Age of Enlightenment. In the words of José Campillo, the author of the reformer's bible *New System of Economic Government for America,* "nothing is better for inciting and stimulating men to application and work than the hopes of a prize."[190]

Although these ideas squared well with the Bishop's vision for Trujillo, Martínez Compañón definitively opposed certain of the miner's 32 points. Most egregious was their suggestion that he help them institute the forced labor system known as the *mita* at Hualgayoc. They proposed to use the labor of the *mestizo* and free black population of Cajamarca, "the majority of whom," they claimed, "are inclined towards laziness and vice."[191] However, forced labor was not an acceptable solution for Martínez Compañón. Instead, he set out to gather his own data on how to improve the mine. It was not until

[189] Ibid.
[190] Joseph del Campillo y Cosio, *Nuevo Sistema de gobierno economico para la America* (Merida, Venezuela, 1971), 111.
[191] "Reunión de los mineros de Micuypampa..."

May 1786 -- three years after the initial meeting -- that Martínez Compañón finally completed his plan for Hualgayoc and wrote to Viceroy Croix with his recommendations.

At the heart of the Bishop's plan was the establishment of an orderly and well-appointed new city, Bambamarca, which the miners had proposed. Instead of envisioning Bambamarca as a way station for coerced laborers, Martínez Compañón imagined it could become an exemplary Spanish American mining community. Rather than forcing workers to operate the mines, the Bishop suggested Bambamarca *attract* workers by offering free land in exchange for labor. Each man and his family would receive a plot of land and "one mule, ten sheep, one beef cow, one milk cow, one bull, one pig, six hens, and a rooster," as well as "one plough, one lamp, and one axe."[192] Bambamarca's residents would alternate work responsibilities in the mine and the fields, and two days a week be responsible for using his mule to transport metals down the mountain for processing.[193]

The Bishop also recommended that the old practice of paying workers in kind be eradicated, as it left them with clothes, food, and household goods -- but no capital. The mineworkers be paid in cash, and be allowed to spend that cash as they saw fit. This would both enable and encourage them to consume more goods, which, as the Bishop mentioned, would create a captive market for Spanish wares. Such an arrangement, he argued, would "incite [the laborers] to work to be able to afford [the] goods" they coveted. Furthermore, when they gathered at the market to make their purchases, "they would all have to act with decency to each other, which would invigorate commerce, and make them want to work to be able to maintain themselves. They would continually deal with each other, and a shared understanding of each other's customs would grow between

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[192] "Martínez Compañón to Viceroy Croix, Trujillo, 29 May 1786."

[193] Martínez Compañón was not the first Spaniard to suggest that mineworkers labor on an alternating basis. As early as 1513, the Laws of Burgos mandated that Indians be allowed 40 days rest after working for five months. During this time, their "only" responsibility was to be the cultivation of "the hillocks necessary for their subsistence that season." Konetzke, ed., *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Formación Social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810. Volumes 1 -3.* Although it also advocated alternating mining and agricultural tasks, Martínez Compañón's plan proposed a much gentler work schedule. Alternating days within the week and having a family close by to help with farming and household duties was much more likely to produce the amount of food necessary to sustain a mining community.

them…and some good marriages, or at least better marriages than they have been known to create while remaining only in their local villages."[194] Thus, this mining community market would foster sociability and population growth. It would promote civility through commerce, and it would be a microcosmic example of enlightened political economy.

While Martínez Compañón's plans for such commercial humanism coincided with the Bourbon agenda, some of the Bishop's other proposals for Hualgayoc were more radical than many eighteenth-century Hispanic reforms. For instance, he demonstrated a remarkable concern for the well being of workers. He hoped that night shifts in the mines could be eliminated, or else assigned only to volunteers or to "those who deserve it as punishment, or are lazy, or vagabonds."[195] He mandated that all administrative officials, miners, and overseers "agree to treat [the workers] with all humanity and tenderness."[196]

[194] "Martínez Compañón to Viceroy Croix, Trujillo, 29 May 1786," Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Miscelánea 46, Document 20, 602-627.
[195] Martínez Compañón, "Decretos de Visita a Cajamarca," 1784. Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Virreyes 15, 83-92.
[196] Ibid.

Figure 3.5. Martínez Compañón's map of Hualgayoc. His friend in Madrid, Francisco Calderón de la Barca, saw a copy of it that had been sent to the King. He praised the Bishop, writing that the map seemed "to have been done by an intelligent professor of mining and mineralogy."[197]

The most revolutionary aspect of his plans for Hualgayoc and Bambamarca was a sort of pension or disability fund reserved for the support of those miners who could not work because of injury. This would be maintained either through depositing in the mine's bank all profits exceeding 25,000 pesos, or through having each mineworker contribute an annual sum of 1 or 2 reales. Martínez Compañón also proposed that if miners died at work, their families should receive 5000 *marcos* a year for fifteen years. These safeguards for such a dangerous occupation, he argued, "would more efficiently induce men to attempt this profession, which should really be promoted."[198]

[197] "Francisco Calderón de la Barca a Martínez Compañón, Madrid, 26 December 1790," Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Virreyes 17, Documento 22.
[198] "Martínez Compañón to Viceroy Croix, Trujillo, 29 May 1786."

While the labor and financial measures would engender the structural improvements the Bourbons sought for Trujillo's mining industry, Martinez Compañón's plan for Hualgayoc featured intellectual components as well. He proposed the foundation of a mining college, where students would learn "mineralogy, metallurgy, natural sciences, and the arts leading to the most perfect and efficacious mining, and use of metals."[199] In classic Enlightenment style, he also advocated the formation of a society to discuss matters of mining and propose innovations. He suggested contracting experts, specifically mining experts from Mexico who were familiar with constructing modern refineries that used horses instead of men for heavy work. He wrote to Croix that he had heard this new technology was so efficient that "in 15 or 20 days," ten horses could do the work "formerly done by 100 men in two months."[200] He also promoted awarding innovative guild members with monetary prizes from the guild savings account and sponsoring annual contests about mining problems. The best entries would be rewarded with a medal that the Bishop thought might feature "the King's face on one side, and on the other side the inscription '*Carlos III – True Father of the Americas and Hualgayoc*.'" He added afterwards that alternate, simpler prizes could include a "silver inkstand," or a "little knife."[201] These ideas are directly aligned with the Enlightenment notion of fostering advances through education and intellectual competition. They are local manifestations of the classic Enlightenment recipe of schools, societies and academic contests.

Despite such elaborate planning, it seems that no one but Martínez Compañón had much faith in the Hualgayoc plan. The response to his propositions was tepid at best, and a handful of individuals made concentrated efforts to block them. One group of miners suggested that he create his town at a different, more convenient site. However, Martínez Compañón soon learned that the lands they suggested, "lacked the materials needed for the factories…were unfruitful, very cold, and that there was no road to the mine nor could one be opened."[202] This same group of problematic miners also opposed a salt contract the Bishop had arranged with local magistrates because they felt it was

[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.

too restrictive. Separate documents reveal that the Chief Justice of Cajamarca also had reservations about Bambamarca, telling the Bishop that "he did not approve of moving the workers there, as it would be contrary to the subordination in which they should live to the miners, and it would create discord and differences." Finally, despite the Bishop's best efforts, the miners held fast to their belief that forced labor was the most profitable – and the easiest – solution to their troubles. Martínez Compañón's utopian vision might have improved the lives of the workers, but it would have angered local elites and administrators.

The immense economic sacrifice required for the Bishop's proposals surely also played a large part in the dismissal and eventual death of his Hualgayoc plans. The Cajamarca Justice pointed out that the approximately 300,000 pesos that were needed to accomplish the reforms was a vast sum that could only be provided by the Crown or a private financial venture.[203] Modern estimations indicate that this amount was roughly approximate to the annual production of all the mines at Hualgayoc.[204] Furthermore, a financially strapped crown was unlikely to advance such a great sum to the mines of Peru when those in Mexico generated a much higher margin of profit.

Another crippling impediment to the Hualgayoc reforms was the excruciatingly slow bureaucratic process. It took three years for Martínez Compañón to send his report to Viceroy Croix. This allowed only four years for Croix to read the report, respond, and for work to begin, because in 1790 the Bishop left Trujillo to assume his new position as Archbishop of Santa Fé de Bogotá. His visionary scheme simply cost too much and clashed with too many vested interests.

In the end, Bambamarca was never built. The laborers did not journey to Cajamarca to receive their free plows and mules, nor was a school or a mining society founded. For all practical purposes, the Bishop's reforms at Hualgayoc remained an Enlightenment blueprint locked away in dusty archives. However, his ideas circulated in manuscript form among the miners, the viceroy, and various administrative officials.

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[203] Ibid.
[204] Carlos Contreras, *Los Mineros y el rey: la economia colonial en los Andes del Norte: Hualgayoc 1770-1824* (Lima, 1995), 107.

Some of these suggestions likely were a factor in the relative upswing in profits that Peru's mines, including Hualgayoc, experienced in the 1790s.[205]

Martínez Compañón's plans for Hualgayoc also share important similarities with other mining initiatives that would thereafter emerge throughout Spanish America. While the Bishop's mining school and society failed to materialize, the *Tribunal de Minería* established in Lima in 1787 created a fund dedicated to improving mining methods throughout the Viceroyalty.[206]A college of mining similar to the one Martínez Compañón discussed opened in Mexico City in 1792.[207] Surely such innovations were not the personal intellectual property of Martínez Compañón. But the similarity between his plan for Hualgayoc and these later innovations indicates that he was a part of the culture of reform that envisioned how to improve the Spanish American mining industry.

Finally, the Hualgayoc venture highlights Martínez Compañón's intellectual ties to reform projects in Europe, where reforming mines was a key concern of enlightened political economists. In 1786, the same year the Bishop presented his plan to Viceroy Croix, a German named Ignaz von Born founded the Society of Mining Sciences, which promoted knowledge sharing among experts in order "to bring *Aufklarung* to the dark regions below the earth's surface."[208] While it seems unlikely that Martínez Compañón knew directly of von Born's work, such a convergence highlights the similarity of the practical reforms in Germany and Spain. It appears that the Bishop was clearly aware of similar projects on the Iberian Peninsula. When writing about how to improve Hualgayoc, he referred specifically to certain aspects of the Bourbon reforms in Spain. In fact, the entire Hualgayoc project has striking similarities to the Sierra Morena colony that

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[205] John Fisher reports that Peruvian mine production in fact was relatively sucessful from 1777 to 1824, with viceroyalty-wide production increasing from 246,000 marks in 1777 to over 500,000 by 1792. In 1799 it hiit an all-time peak of 637,000 marks. *Silver Mines and Silver Miners in Colonial Peru, 1776-1824* (Liverpool, 1977), 108. He also argues that by 1790, Hualgayoc and Pasco (also in Trujillo) were the most profitable mines in Peru (clearly suggesting that at least to some extent, the reforms of the 1780s had increased productivity there. *Ibid.,* 33

[206] Arthur Whitaker, *The Huancavelica Mercury Mine. A Contribution to the History of the Bourbon Renaissance in the Spanish Empire* (1971), chapter six.

[207] José Luis Peset. "El colegio de minería de México." In *Carlos III y la ciencia de la Ilustración*, eds. José Luis Peset, Antonio LaFuente, and Manuel Selles. (Madrid, 1988.)

[208] Henry E. Lowood, *Patriotism, Profit, and the Promotion of Science in the German Enlightenment. The Economic and Scientific Societies, 1760-1815.*, ed. Enno E. Kraehe, Modern European History: Germany and Austria (New York, 1991), 304.

ilustrados Pedro Campomanes and Pablo de Olavide established in Andalucia in 1767, where workers were given houses and all the materials they needed in exchange for performing agricultural labor.[209] This is not to imply that the Bishop simply imitated their plan. Rather, like Olavide and Campomanes, he envisioned a plan to reform an area based on enlightened understandings of private ownership, initiative, and profit. All of these men constructed the best future they could imagine, using the same pragmatic building blocks of progress.

Artisans from Indians: The Socializing Agenda of Primary Education

Along with utility and economic progress, one of the most ubiquitous goals of the practical reformers was the promotion of public good. Their understanding of happiness was based on orderly family relations, civilized town settlements, just government, and profitable commercial ventures. It was a pragmatic quality that promoted sociability and prosperity. Jovellanos explained it well when he wrote, "the richest province will be the happiest, because it is in riches that the political advantages of a state are located."[210]

How would these riches be gathered? From Valencia to Lima and throughout Europe, most reformers agreed that the quickest route to such success was educating the working class in order to increase their productivity and profitability.[211] Education would engender wealth by improving agricultural techniques, which would increase population due to a greater availability of food. A larger population would purchase more goods and result in a growth in commerce. This in turn would foster further development of industry and capital, and enrich the state. It was a simple, if ambitious formula.

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[209] John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700 - 1808* (Oxford, 1989), chapter six.
[210] Quoted in Julio Ruiz Berrio, "La Educación del Pueblo Español en el proyecto de los Ilustrados," *Revista de Educación* (1988).
[211] Enlightenment reformers also sought to improve higher education at the university level, mainly in order to combat Spain's international reputation of intellectual backwardness and conservatism. For more on this, see John Tate Lanning, *The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala* (Ithaca, 1956), Diana Soto Arango, "La enseñanza ilustrada en las universdidades de América colonial: estudio historiográfico," in *La Ilustración en América Colonial*, ed. Diana Soto Arango, Miguel Angel Puig-Samper y Luis Carlos Arboleda (Madrid, 1995).

Enlightened reformers throughout the Atlantic world set themselves to promoting the welfare of their states through educating the populace.

In the Hispanic empire, primary schools were not unheard of, but they were not evenly dispersed or supported. By the Bourbon period, school was theoretically compulsory and free of charge, but families who relied on children's labor often kept them at home. Poorer towns lacked the funds to maintain school facilities or to pay teacher's salaries. Likewise, educational confusion reigned in Trujillo, where the few schools that had been operational closed after the expulsion of the Jesuits. In order to educate the largest number of children, Martínez Compañón had to cast his net widely. He envisaged primary schools where children could learn simple lessons. He developed special schools for young Indians that would train them in a craft or a trade.[212] Through education, he would transform the Indians, *castas,* and *mestizos* of his bishopric into orderly subjects who obeyed the norms and dictates of Hispanic society. In many ways, his plan was strikingly similar to Maria Theresa of Austria's own agenda to educate the masses of her country.

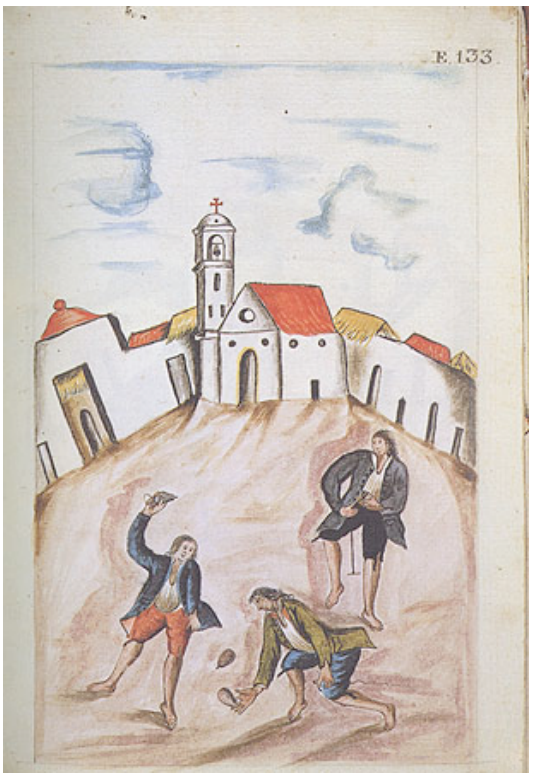

Figure 3.6. Young Indians playing in front of a church wearing the sort of jackets the Bishop mandated proper for school attire.

[212] Martínez Compañón was also interested in schools for girls, an agenda to which he was particularly dedicated to while he served as Archbishop of Bogotá.

She viewed education as essential to promoting a more efficient polity, and was convinced that "the people would more readily obey authority if they did so out of inner conviction than out of fear of punishment."[213]

Martínez Compañón's personal records state that he "founded and provided for" a total of 52 primary schools during his time in Trujillo. However, the definitive tone of his descriptions of his educational efforts belies the reality of the schools - it has thus far proved impossible to track whether the schools ever moved beyond the planning phase.[214] Regardless, a series of ordinances the Bishop wrote about their management provides a good idea of what the schools might have been like. In many ways, they were geared to prepare young pupils for a future life of hard work.

From Monday through Saturday, lessons were to begin at 7:30 in the morning and last until 5 in the afternoon, with a break for eating and resting between 11 and 2. Students had to arrive at school "washed and with their hair combed and shirt buttoned." Boys should wear a *chupa*, or long-sleeved coat with four tails. The use of such attire was essential, Martínez Compañón claimed, because "the exterior of the man indicates his interior." He thought proper dress would replace the "dishevelment" and "dirtiness" of many children with a preferable "cleanliness and culture," that would "without a doubt contribute to the good health of the body."[215]The Bishop did not address how he imagined the plebeian children attending the schools would be able to afford such coats. However, paying for coats was the least of his financial concerns.

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[213] Ingrao, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, 189.

[214] I found no records suggesting this during my research in Colombia, Peru, or Spain. Neither have any of the previous scholars of the Bishop have been able to unearth any definitive evidence of the success of these educational projects. See Daniel Restrepo Manrique, *Sociedad y Religion en Trujillo (Peru), Bajo el Episcopado de Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón, 1780-1790* (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1992), José Manuel Peréz Ayala, *Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, Prelado Español de Colombia y el Peru* (Bogotá, 1955), Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Tres Figuras Señeras del Episcopado Americano* (Lima, 1966).

[215] Martínez Compañón, "Decretos de Visita, Trujillo, November 3 1785," Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Estado 75, Number 109.

A main incentive for the primary schools in Trujillo was to ensure that students would no longer be isolated from Spanish society because they spoke only indigenous languages. In accordance with the royal decree he had received in 1782, Martínez Compañón mandated that classes be conducted only in "the language of the King." Efforts to instruct native children in Spanish were not new to the Spanish empire, but earlier decrees had focused on how learning Castilian would promote the religious indoctrination of young Indians.[216]

Martínez Compañón, in contrast, was dealing with a society that had been Catholic for almost three hundred years, so his concerns were different. He was confident that speaking Spanish would save indigenous children from the "mortifying embarrassment…confusion and shame" of not being fluent in a language that contains "all that is necessary to know in order to be able to fulfill exactly the obligations of being a Christian and a vassal [of the King.]"[217] Mastery of Spanish would thus foster the students' metamorphosis into profit-producing members of the Hispanic economy who would purchase manufactured goods and ensure a self-perpetuating market for Spain's productions.[218] Such sentiments were not original to the Bishop. They echoed a 1770 Royal Decree that claimed that Spanish-speaking Indians "would be civilized for

[216] Konetzke, ed., *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Formación Social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810. Volumes 1 -3.*
[217] Compañón, "Decretos de Visita, Trujillo, November 3 1785."
[218] This perspective fits within the general reform architecture of *ilustrados* like Martínez Compañón and José Campillo, who is typically credited with creating the fundamental Bourbon policy towards re-conquering the Indians through commerce. However, others who have studied colonial primary education have understood the Spanish-language mandates differently. Dorothy Tanck, for instance, argues that this emphasis on the use of Castilian was based on a policy of eradicating native language and customs, such as tobacco use. Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, *Pueblos de indios y educación en el México colonial, 1750-1821* (México, D.F., 1999), 165. Prohibiting Indians from speaking the language of their ancestors, the language that would remind them of their pre-Hispanic autonomy and power, would help to quell any potentially rebellious ideas. Furthermore, forcing students to speak in Spanish would simplify the tasks of the secular priests who had been sent to replace the religious clergy. While the Dominican and Jesuit priests and missionaries often spoke local Indian languages, the secular clergy installed under the late Bourbons typically did not.

commerce," and "would not be so exposed to being tricked in their dealings, commerce, and lawsuits."[219]

In addition to language skills, Martínez Compañón's schools sought to instill the proper manners in young students. He mandated that children display adequate respect to their parents every day, "first thing in the morning or afternoon" by "kissing the hand of their fathers and mothers."[220] This subservience would promote the respect for authority that was required of good Hispanic plebeians. Furthermore, students were to learn that there were consequences for their actions: those who behaved badly were to meet with the appropriate physical punishment. The Bishop warned that some parents would complain to the teacher about corporal punishment, but he assured this was the preferred method to promote obedience and good behavior when they were lacking.

Primary school was to teach more than simple subservience. It also provided a valuable opportunity to turn children away from habits the reformers viewed as suspect. Schoolteachers were to lecture about the importance of good marriages and the "depravity of drunkenness."[221] These moral standards reveal more than a micro-managing mentality. In fact, the Bishop advocated relatively strict treatment of children because like Rousseau and other Enlightenment thinkers, he believed early childhood was a formative time that must be handled delicately. "In our early childhood we are like soft wax," he wrote. "First impressions form images…so profound in our souls that they come to be the roots of our judgments and operations in the entire course of our lives."[222]

Just because he prescribed to a modern, enlightened view of childhood, does not mean that the Bishop was willing to part with Catholic ritual. For instance, students were to attend daily mass, during which they would piously kneel with their hands folded on their chests. Upon entering the church, they could not forget to take holy water and make the sign of the cross on their foreheads. Children could sit down in the pews only

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[219] Konetzke, ed., *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Formación Social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810. Volumes 1 -3.*
[220] Martínez Compañón, "Decretos de Visita, Trujillo, November 3 1785."
[221] Ibid.
[222] "Martínez Compañón to José Urteaga, Trujillo, June 26, 1785," Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal: Colegios y Universidades, "Erección y fundación de dos colegios."

during the priest's sermon. Upon entering and exiting school each day, they were to sing the following words: "blessed be the most holy sacrament of our altar." They also had to remember to say this if they happened upon a priest, a public official, or anyone who was older than them. On Sundays, their only day off, they were to say the rosary out loud while walking in the streets. Mandating proper religious observance was yet another method of ensuring the obedient and respectful behavior required of Hispanic laborers. Religion was a method of assuring proper conduct and of implementing order.

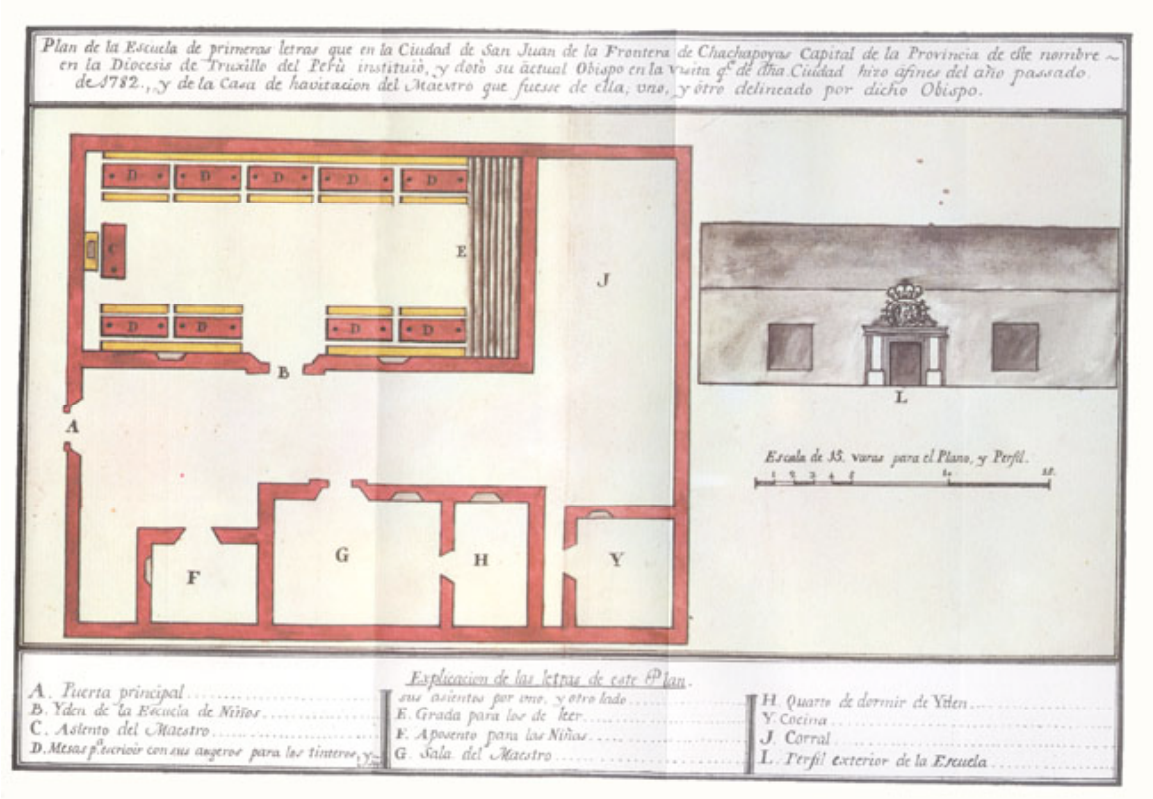

Figure 3.7. The interior and façade of the primary school in San Juan de la Frontera, Chachapoyas. The small black circles on both sides of the desks are inkwells.

Although the school-building program was visionary in detail, like many Spanish colonial efforts at primary education reform, it was unsuited to local circumstance. This disconnect between ideology and economic capacity was by no means specific to Peru. For instance, the 1782 royal decree that ordered the foundation of primary schools

suggested they were to be funded with communal savings. This solution was only viable in areas with stronger economies. Surely such a plan was not suitable for the most impoverished province in Peru.

Closer examination of the Bishop's sketch or "Plan for the primary school in the City of San Juan de la Frontera in Chachapoyas" (figure 7) details the naiveté of his primary school designs. Instead of holding classes in an existing structure or even in the teacher's house, as was often done in New Spain,[223] he advocated building an entirely new building with an appropriately neo-classical façade which he carefully designed. Instead of the simple bench seats common to many primary schools in Mexico, the Bishop envisioned nine tables with benches on either side. He painstakingly included inkwells in these images, indicating that not only would the students have desks, but they would also be provided with ink and pens – a far cry from the leaves of the *duco* tree that the children of Jaen scratched on to practice their alphabets.[224] The school was to have separate rooms for beginning students, advanced students, and female students. It would also feature a teacher's office, sleeping quarters, and a kitchen. Clearly these were extravagant measures for a town that could not even provide for a teacher's salary. Despite the wealth of good intentions, the people of most areas of Trujillo were simply too poor to support such initiatives.

As a highly accomplished and intelligent man, Martínez Compañón must have assumed that certain aspects of his plan would be untenable. However, he was unwilling to part entirely with educating the Indians of Trujillo, so he created a secondary set of school plans that were smaller in scope. He held tight to his belief that "well raised and educated [the Indians] could convert themselves into different men who were more useful for God, for themselves, and for the state,"[225] so he imagined two schools specifically for Indian boys and girls. These were different from the primary schools

[223] Tanck de Estrada, *Pueblos de indios y educación*…, chapter five.
[224] "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa," Sevilla: Archivo General de las Indias, Lima 798.
[225] "Santa Visita de Piura, 19 Julio 1783," Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades, "Erección y Fundación de dos colegios."

because they aimed to create Hispanicized young adults who were proficient in trades (and Hispanic norms of plebeian sociability.)

This language of reforming the Indians was not unique to Peru, or even to Spanish America. In fact, Martínez Compañón's Indian schools mirrored similar Indian "civilization" efforts in North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thomas Jefferson, for instance, believed that Indians they should be given domestic animals and taught to farm before learning to deal with paper currency and reading simple books. This, he believed, would help to fully incorporate them into the new American nation.[226]

At school, students would learn about the Spanish basics of "house, food, bed, dress, and doctrine." The Bishop's idea was that after their educations had ended, the children would return to their towns, "and be able to maintain the same order in their families." This would inevitably lead to "more and healthier children, more the consumption of Castilian and Peruvian goods, and therefore more active their work [and] their industry."[227] Although it seems a strange component of primary education, this commercial focus was in fact a dominant concern of the Indian school plans.

The Bishop imagined two schools for Indian children, one for boys and one for girls, with each accommodating about 150 students. Each city, villa, and town in the bishopric would send two to four children between the ages of seven and nine to the schools every year. They would remain for approximately ten years – the Bishop was careful to stipulate that neither parents nor relatives could remove them earlier. The school itself would provide the cost of tuition, room and board, and the appropriate clothing. All students would learn Christian doctrine, reading and writing, and agriculture. Girls would also study the necessary homemaking and sewing skills, while boys would learn trades. However, the students' participation in trades was to be carefully regulated. Not wishing to infringe upon the occupations of the other inhabitants of the bishopric and

[226] For more on North American efforts to educate and "civilize" Indians, see Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction. Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (New York, 1973).
[227] "Martínez Compañón to Carlos III, Trujillo, May 15, 1786," Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades, "Erección y Fundación de dos colegios."

kingdom, the Bishop mandated that the children would only learn those trades "that in no way would damage the commerce and industry of the Peninsula, or the people of other qualities of this kingdom." He determined these trades to be "worker, mason, carpenter, sculptor, painter, musician, stamp-maker, brass-worker, potter, chair-maker, mill grinder, bread-maker, barber, bleeder, surgeon, poultice-maker, tailor, shoe-maker, butcher, driller, hat-maker, tanner, dyer."[228] Along with standard subjects, students would study agriculture, and upon graduation, each boy would receive "the instruments of his trade, and a little capital to make possible that he could begin to practice it, or open a little store in his town."[229]

The Indians were not to become merchants, miners, ecclesiastics, or bureaucrats, as these only those of Spanish descent could engage in these occupations.[230] Instead, they were to become the manual laborers and producers that the Spanish empire dearly needed. With very little manufacturing to speak of, Trujillo was badly in need of tradesmen of any kind, and Martínez Compañón's schools sought to provide them. He also thought the students from his schools would naturally emerge as community leaders who would inspire a more general spirit of improvement. Just he had intended to sponsor contests and offer prizes to encourage the miners at Hualgayoc, he also wanted to create competition among the students in his schools. He planned to reward those who most excelled on their exams with prizes of pairs of mules.

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[228] "Martínez Compañón to Carlos III, Trujillo, May 15, 1786."

[229] "Martínez Compañón to Amados Hijos Mios, los Indios de este Obispado de Trujillo, 31 Julio 1783," Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades, "Erección y Fundación de dos colegios." The idea of "Hispanicizing" selected Indian youth and then returning them to their towns to serve as liaisons and community role models was nothing new in the Spanish empire. A Royal decree from 1609 reveals that the School for Indian Nobles in Mexico was founded so that certain young boys might learn basic writing, reading, and figuring, and correct Christian manners, so that they might "return to their towns and be in charge of governing them." Konetzke, ed., *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Formación Social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810. Volumes 1 -3*.

[230] While such a policy is clearly part of the Enlightenment culture of improvement, it also echoes the earlier *arbitrista* concern with Latin primary schools in Hapsburg Spain. The abritristas feared the schools were encouraging young men to abandon their proper careers as artisans and tradesmen, and producing lofty ambitions of infiltrating the social elite through using the "useless" skills, such as Latin, they learned at these schools. This would not only endanger the position of elites, it would also jeopardize Spain's already fragile manufacturing sector. Richard L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 1974), 44.

He also mentioned to King Carlos III the possibility that the highest-achieving students be awarded the honorific title of "Don," and be allowed to dress in silk like Spanish elites. He thought this would appeal to the "natural emulation [the Indians] have amongst themselves," because the other Indians would then want "the same house and supplies as he who won the first prize…and to dress the same way in respect of the material of the clothes, just as in the shape, and cut of them."[231]

In suggesting that certain male students be rewarded with the trappings normally reserved for Spanish elites, Martínez Compañón was remarkably attuned to Enlightenment notions of commercial humanism. For instance, David Hume argued that aspiring to own material goods could promote hard work and advancement, because a desire for luxury goods "rouses men from their indolence…[and] raises in them a desire of a more splendid way of life."[232] T.H. Breen, a more modern commentator on the importance of luxury items and fashion in the late eighteenth century, also points out that choosing fabric color, texture, and clothing style was in fact "liberating, even empowering, for it allowed [people] to determine for themselves what the process of self-fashioning was all about."[233] Martínez Compañón's prizes of honorific titles and silken finery were meant to function much in the same way.

Documents have not yet definitively confirmed whether the Bishop read Hume, but he was surely familiar with the ubiquitous *New System for Economic Government of America* by José Campillo. Campillo wrote that in order to exploit its American possessions Spain had to recognize that "the Indians are the true Indies, and the richest

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[231] "Martínez Compañón to Carlos III, Trujillo, May 15, 1786." It should be noted that the idea of allowing certain Indians to dress in finer clothes than the others was by no means a new concept. As early as 1513, the Laws of Burgos had suggested that Indian leaders and their wives be allowed to wear more luxurious clothing. However, the rationale for this allowance was more related to ideas about social hierarchy. It was simply thought "just that the said chiefs and their wives should be better dressed and better treated than the other Indians." Konetzke, ed., *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Formación Social de Hispanoamérica, 1493-1810. Volumes 1 -3.*

[232] David Hume, *Of Commerce* (McMaster University Department of Economics, [cited); available from http://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/~econ/ugcm/3ll3/hume/commerce.hme.

[233] T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution. How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence.* (Oxford, 2004), 151.

mine in the world."[234] Their labor and their integration into Hispanic commerce were the economic hope of Spain's precarious future. Indeed, much of Martínez Compañón's vision for Trujillo is predicated on this very same idea.

Despite Martínez Compañón's best intentions, funding for the Indian schools was in question from the start. The Bishop knew he could not count on Crown support in such a financially difficult period. Therefore, he offered to donate 1000 *pesos* of his own salary to the schools. Upon reconsideration he doubled his offer to 2000 *pesos*. This was a substantial sum, but still not enough. The rest of the money would have to come from the Indian communities, who learned of the project through pastoral letters. Many of these responded by way of their local priest and agreed that they could contribute 6 *reales* per person annually. Parish priest Pedro Buque was careful to point out that the Indians of Ferreñafe "voluntarily agreed to this moderate contribution, because they know…the spiritual and temporal benefits."[235] The people of Monsefu wrote that in order to meet the donations, they would re-allocate *cofradía* (religious brotherhood) money towards the schools. Demonstrating his own engagement with the Enlightenment discourse of sociability, the parish priest of Cajabamba wrote that the Indians under his care recognized the "feverous zeal and pastoral love" of Martínez Compañón "towards cultivating a nation, putting it in a state of perfect Christianity, and sociable and useful life." They knew that in the schools, their children would learn "politics, urbanity, and the best way to work and grow."[236] Therefore they offered to make their donation by using charitable money given to them by a hacienda to buy clothes.

Not every town willingly offered to contribute. Parish Priest José Urteaga scornfully reported that the Indians of Chachapoyas had informed him that they were simply too poor to support the schools. He decried these families as "very stupid," claiming they resisted the schools because "they would rather have their children enslaved, because they serve them and help them in their work and their agriculture,

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[234] Campillo y Cosio, *Nuevo Sistema de gobierno economico para la America*.
[235] "Pedro José Buque to Martínez Compañón, 23 November, 1783," Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades, "Erección y Fundación de dos colegios."
[236] "Pueblo de Cajabamba a Martínez Compañón," Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades, "Erección y Fundación de dos colegios."

than to see them...made into rational men."[237] Such outright reluctance was unusual. This suggests that even in poor communities where the people likely knew they could not finance such ventures, they verbally acquiesced to their Bishop's request, and then planned to follow the time-tested colonial strategy of "*obedezco pero no cumplo*" (I obey but I do not comply.)

In all, Martínez Compañón was promised 7000 *pesos* a year to support the schools. Even this was insufficient. He had to improvise with a number of supplementary provisions, including rental income from previously unused royal lands known as *tierras baldias*, and putting a tax of 2 *pesos* on every bottle of *aguardiente* liquor sold in the diocese. Even with these measures in place, the Bishop's plan would have fallen far short of the estimated 62,000 pesos a year necessary to run the schools.[238] Yet another of Martínez Compañón's reform projects was stalled by his own grand designs.

Even though they failed, the Indian schools stand out as one of the most provocative components of Martínez Compañón's living laboratory of Enlightenment. The enlightenment agenda for reforming the working class in Spain clearly inspired their agenda. There, one of the most influential publications of the period, Pedro Campomanes' *Discourse on Promoting Popular Education for Artisans*, asserted that artisans, or the plebe, "should not form a sort of separate group," in society, and should benefit from a standard moral education and training in their specific occupations. Artisan education, he argued, was essential because it would "rid the community of the idea of the vileness of *mecánicos*"[239] or manual workers. Martínez Compañón himself hoped that the Indians in his schools would learn trades and improve relations with the other groups of the bishopric. Granting the title of "Don" to Indians was certainly a gesture that spoke to this idea. In his own remote corner of Spanish America, the Bishop applied the same notions reformers throughout the Atlantic world were using to remake the plebe into productive agricultural workers and artisans.

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[237] "José Urteaga to Martínez Compañón, Chachapoyas, 10 February, 1786," Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades, "Erección y Fundación de dos colegios."
[238] Daniel Restrepo, "Vida y Hechos de Martínez Compañón," in *Trujillo del Peru - Appendice II*, ed. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois (Madrid, 1993).
[239] Pedro R. de Capomanes, *Discurso sobre la educación popular*, ed. F. Augilar Piñal, Biblioteca de la literatura y el pensamiento hispanicos (Madrid, 1978), 23.

Imagining Enlightenment, Envisioning Utopia

The failure of many of Martínez Compañón's projects to materialize suggests that in the end, many of them were too grand for their own good. His visions of a mining college, fancy desks with inkwells, and four-tailed coats for schoolboys were impractical in the isolated and overlooked province of Trujillo. However, the fact that the Bishop's political economy reforms remained blueprints for enlightenment does not negate their value as subjects of historical inquiry. In fact, exploring the factors affecting the outcome of his agenda broadens understanding of local-level Bourbon reform initiatives in Spanish America. Issues that negatively impacted Martínez Compañón's political economy include the difficulty of legislating social reforms; a lack of funding at all levels; opposition from various interest groups; and difficulties with communication.

With many of the quotidian reforms in the areas of dress and home life, Martínez Compañón simply fought a losing battle. His plan failed to take into account the sheer impossibility of legislating people's private lives. It was unfeasible for Martínez Compañón to guarantee that the women of Trujillo dressed modestly. He himself could not have personally inspected every Indian house in order to determine that there were separate bedrooms for boys and girls. Attempting to control the leisure time of his diocesans was also a futile goal; neither he nor parish priests could remove men from *chicherías* and plant them instead in front of a card table. Neither was it possible to ensure that mine owners and officials treated workers with kindness, or that teachers lectured to schoolchildren about what they should and should not do.[240]

Although these difficulties were genuine, even more problematic was the issue of securing funding. The lack of financial support from the Viceroyalty was understandable. In the late-eighteenth century, imperial restructuring stripped Peru of the Potosí mine profits, and the Viceroyalty lost much of its trade revenue when routes were redirected to

[240] The difficulties Martínez Compañón faced in implementing his socially based reforms in fact mirrored an empire-wide difficulty. The problems with legislating about gender, status, and family issues have been well-studied by social and cultural historians. See Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets - Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford, 1999), Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender - Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill, 1995), Bianca Premo, *Children of the Father King. Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima.* (Chapel Hill, 2005).

Buenos Aires. After the various Indian rebellions of the early 1780s, much of Lima's attention was directed to securing the southern areas of Peru. Trujillo was not a primary concern. In Madrid as well, the Crown had dedicated resources to fighting with the American colonists against the British, and had little to spend on implementing local-level reforms in the Peruvian provinces.

Martinez Compañón therefore had to look elsewhere for sources of funding. The elite landowning class of Trujillo who might have supported his ventures were in dire financial straits themselves.[241] Neither could Martínez Compañón turn to the potentially wealthy Hualgayoc miners, as *they* were petitioning *him* for assistance. He tried to raise funds for the schools by suggesting sin taxes on liquor, but implementing such a decree would have required additional years of bureaucratic wrangling that would have effectively strangled the proposals. Another problem was that royal decrees for funding local-level reform initiatives had set up an unrealistic precedent. For instance, the plans to fund primary schools for Indians through asking for communal contributions in cash or agricultural products were simply not realistic when the populace was so desperately poor. In 1790, Martínez Compañón himself admitted that the funds communities promised never materialized. He also had no choice but to admit that as to the fields the Indians agreed to farm, "even this they did not comply with."[242]

In addition to financial problems, opposition from influential locals plagued Martínez Compañón's vision for Trujillo. This is readily apparent in his proposals for Bambamarca. The mine owners tried to prevent the new settlement by giving the Bishop erroneous information and by challenging business agreements he had negotiated. Although they made conciliatory gestures to Martínez Compañón's discourse of improvement by promoting contests and orderly city settlements, their main agenda was continuing to pursue forced labor. Perhaps locals shared the Cajamarca magistrate's fears that after encouraging the Indians to act as Hispanic workers and not as innately

[241] Susan E. Ramírez, *Provincial Patriarchs. Land Tenure and the Economics of Power in Colonial Peru* (Albuquerque, 1986), part three.
[242] "Martínez Compañón to Andres de Achurra, Trujillo, May 26, 1790," 1790. Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Virreyes 7, 559-560.

inferior servants, elites would find themselves with a Tupac Amaru style rebellion on their hands.

Another main factor impeding the implementation of the Bishop's reforms was the inevitable slowness of communication in the late eighteenth century Hispanic world. Correspondence between Martínez Compañón, Intendant Saavedra, and Viceroy Croix suggests how long it took for news and correspondence to reach its destination. Three years was by no means an unusually long response. Furthermore, withholding prompt replies may have actually been a calculated technique of deferral. The amount of time it took to gather information from the interested parties also impeded many initiatives. In order to develop his plans for Hualgayoc, Martínez Compañón spent three years in a series of correspondence with local businessmen, hacienda owners, and parish priests. He had to rely on their information to determine where to found his town and how to best do so. As The data they provided was not always accurate, nor did it routinely arrive in a timely fashion. A further difficulty lay in the inability to share information among parts of the Hispanic empire – official channels of communication ran only from the Indies to Spain, and all matters of official business involving other viceroyalties had to pass through the metropolis first.

Irregularities in communication also made it difficult for Martínez Compañón to plan for the future. For example, Martínez Compañón was appointed Archbishop of Bogotá in September of 1788, but for years he remained unsure as to when exactly this move would take place. In the time he had left he scrambled to convoke a diocesan synod, which he planned would begin on July 2, 1789. At the synod, he hoped to fill vacant parishes with new priests, and also to create "a body of statutes, or municipal laws…that would perpetuate and invigorate the providences of our Visita." He rightly feared that without such a set of formal ordinances, "after our time, or our move to another church," the agenda of his visita would be "exposed to total inobservance and forget." Although local priests, Intendant Saavedra, and the Ecclesiastical Cabildo supported the Synod, bureaucratic wrangling over the creation of new parishes delayed

it, and it could not be called before Martínez Compañón's January 1791 departure for Bogotá. [243] Thus his reforms remained blueprints, however elegant.

Martínez Compañón's political economy reforms also remind us of the significance of commercial humanism in the Hispanic Enlightenment and the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Leading Enlightenment figures like Hume, Smith, and Montesquieu believed in the possibilities of promoting virtue through commercial society. While the Spanish Crown's unwillingness to open its empire to universal free trade has traditionally excluded it from studies on eighteenth-century commercial theory, Martínez Compañón's political economy highlights how the values of commercial humanism could be implemented in an absolutist system.

Finally, a broader survey of the "practical Enlightenment" highlights how men who imagined how to improve the public good combated doubts and confronted failures *wherever* they were. John Elliott has recently shown how in Britain after the Seven Year's War, ministers "were as anxious as their Madrid counterparts about the future of their overseas empire."[244] Likewise, the Austrian Cameralist rulers met difficulties in enacting their political economy agenda. The famous Austrian *urbarium* reforms promoted by Maria Theresa took eight years to be implemented, and even then they were "widely ignored by defiant landlords and the noble-dominated county assemblies."[245] Indeed, the enlightened reformers of the Hispanic world were not alone in scrambling to reorder their empire. Nor were they the only group who imagined essentially untenable reforms. For instance, according to Keith Tribe, the Austrian cameralists doomed their own agendas through over involvement. Each decree "generated further objects of regulation, promoting the lack of finality within a postulate

[243] Martínez Compañón, "Informe hecho acerca de las conclusiones que ha sacado de la visita general personal que realizó." Lima: Archivo Arzobispal, Papeles Importantes 1559-1924, Legajo 23, Doc XXII: 30, 1789.
[244] J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World. Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*. (New Haven, 2006).
[245] Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815,* 185.

finitude of tasks."[246] When viewed from a local level, the Bourbon reform agenda in Spanish America looks similarly self-defeating through an endemic over-eagerness.

In the end, although the Bishop's plan for improvement in Trujillo remained largely in the blueprint stage, it succeeded in conveying his vision to Spain and to his contemporary correspondents. His vision of improvement represents a moment in time when the ideas of Enlightenment allowed progress and modernity to become a possibility in the most unlikely of places. He envisioned Trujillo as a practical utopia, and utopias, utilitarian or fantastical, are essentially of the imagination. Like the Enlightenment itself, they propose a vision of an improved future, one that is more just, fair, and rational. Perhaps on some level this was the sentiment expressed by the people of Trujillo when they made a show of promising to contribute their hard-earned money to the Indian schools where their children would have the chance to become gentlemen who understood politics, European sociability, and how it felt to be addressed as "Don."

[246] Keith Tribe, "Cameralism and the Science of Government," *Journal of Modern History* 56 (1984), 275.

Chapter Four:

Bio-contact Zones in Hispanic Imperial Science

All plants, from the most humble moss to the full and proud cedar, are destined to the service of Man the King of Nature. Some sustain him, others clothe him, others repair his health, and all together they elevate his spirit to pay the homage of gratitude and submission that is owed to the Supreme Creator who dresses the countryside in pomp and fragrance.
Mercurio Peruano, June 2, 1791.[247]

In June 1791, Alonso de Huerta, a professor emeritus of Quechua at the University of Lima, published an article entitled "The Scientific Description of the Plants of Peru" in the *Mercurio Peruano*. Much of Huerta's "scientific" description focused on the pragmatic uses of botanical knowledge that were most suited to the project-oriented Hispanic Enlightenment. A key concern was how the work of botanists could promote industry and create wealth. "The common good," he wrote, "is the soul of our efforts, and the contributions of the study of botany are innumerable to commerce, science, and to Peru."[248] Peru's diverse nature provided an incalculably vast wealth of materials, many of which had not been cataloged by European or creole scientists. Finding and cataloging new specimens might resuscitate its agricultural productions, better feeding its population and increasing trade revenues. Like so many botanists of the period, Huerta's greatest hopes lay in the next great commercial product that might be located in the rainforest, coastal desert, high plains, or mountains of Peru. Such a plant could provide a new *específico* or patented medicine, or even serve as a valuable substitute for medical specimens currently being imported from Europe. [249] Alternately, it might be a

[247] "Todos los vegetables, desde el humilde musco hasta el coposo y soberbio cedro, están destinados al servicio del Hombre Monarca en la Naturaleza. Los unos lo sustentan, los otros lo visten: otros reparan su salud, y todos juntos elevan su espiritú á rendir el homenage de gratitud y sumisión debido al Autor Supremo que viste de poma y fragrancia las campiñas." Alonso de Huerta, "La Descripción Científica de las Plantas del Perú," *Mercurio Peruano* II, July 2 (1791).
[248] "La utilidad común…es el alma de nuestras tareas, y son imponderables las particulares que ofrece el estudio de la Botánica a las artes, y las ciencias, y al Perú." Ibid.
[249] "La agricultura podrá mejorarse con las luces que vamos á esparcir sobre ella, y salir del miserable abandono en que se se halla. En consequencia crecerá nuestro Comercio, yá por el aumento de esta; ya por los vegetables que puedan descubrirse para sustentar, fecundar, y propagar los quadrupedos, y duplicar las útilidades que de ellos deducimos; ya por las plantas y

high-value luxury or commodity good, such as coffee or sugar. The potential financial gain from utilizing Peru's plant-based resources was, as Huerta described it, limitless. Plants were a renewable resource that could be transported and cultivated anywhere within the empire.

Huerta's pragmatic approach to Peru's plant life illustrates why so many eighteenth-century thinkers, researchers, and policy makers throughout the Atlantic world were fascinated with plants and botany. From Carl Linnaeus' universal Latin-based naming system, to scientific expeditions launched by major imperial powers, to an ever-burgeoning Atlantic trade in botanical pharmaceuticals; botany was an eighteenth-century field *par excellence,* one that might bring both economic and political gains. In Spain, botanical research could provide much needed good press for an empire that most Europeans believed was in a state of marked decline. Spain's political elite battled the persistent notion that their country was intellectually conservative and technologically retrograde – not a modern kingdom capable of fostering valuable scientific discoveries. Nasty accusations lodged by figures like Comte de Buffon, the director of France's *Jardin du Roi* and a leading natural historian of the late-eighteenth-century had not helped Spain's reputation. In the immensely popular volumes of his *Histoire Naturelle*, Buffon advanced the theory that America was a geologically young continent, much colder and wetter than Europe, teeming with water and swamps. He argued that this inherently inferior environment made American animal species weaker than their European counterparts.[250] Soon Cornelius DePauw extended these ideas to botany, and in his *Recherches philosophiques sur les américains,* he went so far as to claim that human beings in the Americas were weak and degenerate, just like the animals and plants who surrounded them.[251]

árboles relativos á los tintes, ajuares, y demás fines que hemos expuesto en otra parte…La tercera en especial se verá enriquecida no solo con nuevos específicos, sino tambien con el conocimiento de las plantas succedaneás de las que se conducen de Europa, y que no se usan por ignorancia." Ibid.

[250] David Brading, *The First America - The Spanish monarchy, Creole patriots, and the Liberal State 1492-1867* (Cambridge, 1991), 429.

[251] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World. Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, 2001), chapter one.

Naturally, refuting these damaging accusations was a major preoccupation of eighteenth-century Hispanic natural historians, and botany was a key arena in which they waged their battle. They were well aware that in addition to a myriad of financial gains, the discovery of medicinal plants could demonstrate how a scientifically sophisticated Spain could readily exploit the available resources. By highlighting the natural diversity and utility of Spanish American plants and the ability of Hispanic scientists to catalog and employ them, their investigations offered a valuable opportunity for imperial damage control.[252] This chapter explores how these financial and political concerns shaped the culture of botanical research in the Hispanic empire by using Bishop Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón's botanical work as a focal point. After introducing how this analysis dialogues with the broader historiography of imperial science in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world, this chapter provides a general introduction to the methodology and implications of his botanical research. It then links his work to that of his botanical predecessors and contemporaries who also worked with indigenous collaborators and informants. The final section of the chapter is a detailed cultural analysis of Martínez Compañón's botanical findings. It uses the rubric of what Londa Schiebinger has termed a "bio-contact zone" in order to explore the various approaches to native-Spanish botanical collaborations in late colonial Peru.

Botany and Imperial Science in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World

The political purposes of state-sponsored botanical investigations are examined in several studies of imperial science in the Atlantic world. These works have demonstrated the intimate and complex relationship between plants, politics, and power in the eighteenth-century Atlantic. Their authors show how Sweden, England, and France all understood botany as an economic force that could generate fortunes for their governments.

The political economy of botany also had broader implications. Lisbet Koerner's study of Karl Linnaeus in Sweden stresses how botany was an essential component of a

[252] Paula Susan DeVos, "The Art of Pharmacy in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Mexico" (University of California, Berkeley, 2001), chapter 7.

cameralist vision of national management, in which Sweden would be freed of its need to trade with European imperial powers through developing its own natural resources and internal trade in order to become self-sufficient.[253] Richard Drayton's *Nature's Government* studies how the British botanists at Kew Gardens viewed their labors as having the potential to "transform India from a drainer of British bullion…into a supplier of raw materials."[254] They also believed that under the guise of botany, they could secure potentially sensitive geographical information that could be obtained by spies who accompanied missions, and most importantly, "show the British government as efficient and wise."[255] In her work on the Royal French Botanical Gardens, Emma Spary shows how botany served a similar public purpose in France.[256]

But how did these empires collect and secure the data that would enrich them and improve their standing on the global stage? Most often, imperial researchers seem to have resorted to a quasi-immoral spiriting away of information. For instance, Lucile Brockway writes of the repeated British "plant removals" from Latin America which transported specimens from environmentally rich Latin America to the labor-rich British colonies in Asia. In completing these transfers of information, "British botanists neither sought nor received any help from their victims," since they were able to rely on the technology fostered in scientific institutions like Kew Gardens.[257] Lisbet Koerner tells a similar, though slightly less insidious, story concerning Karl Linnaeus's students, who upon their departure for overseas research, he instructed to sample, smuggle, or steal specimens, all in the name of improving Sweden's economic standing.[258]

Recent work by Londa Schiebinger takes a more complicated approach to the issue of European seizure of native information. She argues that in America, the process of gathering botanical information was not as structured as it was in Europe. Instead of

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[253] Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation* (Cambridge, 1999).
[254] Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven, 2000), 119.
[255] Ibid., 108.
[256] E.C. Spary, *Utopia's Garden. French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution.* (Chicago, 2000).
[257] Lucile H. Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion. The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens.* (New Haven, 2002), 28.
[258] Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation,* chapter six.

extracting information from its environment and dealing with it in an institutionalized laboratory setting, botanists in America worked along with local healers and informants "in a context that highlights the exchange of plants and their cultural uses." Building upon Mary Louise Pratt's notion of a "contact zone," Schiebinger terms this a "bio-contact zone." She herself admits this concept is problematic – for instance, Europeans did not always eagerly attribute information to local informants, and they imposed their own epistemological apparatus onto the local resources. While these problems were also present in the Hispanic world, the Spanish empire also featured a strong tradition of native-European collaboration, with varying degrees of acknowledgement, of course.[259]

This study of Martínez Compañón's imperial science makes a unique contribution to this body of literature in two main areas. First, it fills a void in knowledge, because with the exception of Schiebinger and a small group of recent studies,[260] the Hispanic botanical tradition is overlooked. Drayton, for instance sees the Bourbon Kings of France as influential on the global botanical agenda, promoting not only plant science in France, but also inspiring the British to develop their own politics of botany. Sweden, and even Russia are known participants in botanical political economy. In contrast, Spain – which had Bourbon monarchs on the throne throughout the eighteenth-century – is left out of this picture altogether.

Secondly, this chapter demonstrates how Schiebinger's concept of the bio-contact zone functions in the continental Spanish American context. It explains how Martínez Compañón fostered his own bio-contact zone in Trujillo through engaging the

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[259] Londa Schiebinger, "Prospecting for Drugs. European Naturalists in the West Indies.," in *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, ed. Londa and Claudia Swan Schiebinger (Philadelphia, 2005), 126.

[260] See: Antonio Barrera, "Local Herbs, Global Medicines. Commerce, Knowledge, and Commodities in Spanish America.," in *Merchants and Marvels. Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe.*, ed. Pamela H. and Paula Findlen Smith (New York, 2002), Antonio Barrera, "Empire and Knowledge: Reporting from the New World," *Colonial Latin American Review* 15 (June, 2006), Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature. The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin, 2006), Daniela Bliechmar, "Painting as Exploration: Visualizing Nature in Eighteenth-Century Colonial Science," *Colonial Latin American Review* 15 (June, 2006), Paula S. De Vos, "Natural History and the Pursuit of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Spain," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Under Review (2006), Paula S. De Vos, "Research, Development, and Empire: State Support of Science in the Later Spanish Empire," *Colonial Latin American Review* 15 (June, 2006).

locals to uncover curious histories and common uses of hundreds of plant species native to northern Peru. This chapter considers how the Bishop and the Indians imagined, constituted, and refined the bio-contact zone of Trujillo. It also addresses the subtle political agendas the Bishop communicated with such work. It also demonstrates how with botanical investigations, Martínez Compañón found an arena where he could function less as a prelate and more as a naturalist. When discussing plants and their uses, the Bishop calmly mentioned superstitious practices, coca chewing, abortion, and a host of other activities explicitly or quietly condemned by the Catholic hierarchy. By portraying these specimens in his botanical volumes and including them in his collections, Martínez Compañón provided an alternative glimpse of the lives of the peoples of Trujillo. Ironically, this portrait was quite different from that of the orderly, Hispanicized citizens he sought so hard to create with his political economy reforms, or in the watercolors he commissioned of quotidian life in his bishopric.

Martínez Compañón's Botanical Research: Sources, Methods, and Implications

Of the vast body of Martinez Compañón's natural history investigations, two main areas focus specifically on botany: the plant illustrations in volumes three, four, and five of the *Trujillo del Perú* images, and the inventory of the twenty-four boxes of natural and curious items the Bishop sent to Spain under the care of Viceroy Teodoro de Croix.[261] The botanical images are a rich but relatively mysterious source of information. Like the rest of the nine volumes, they are not accompanied by any descriptive information. The names are simple, recorded in common Castilian or Quechua, and show no influence of the complicated Linnaean system that separated species according to division, class, order, family, genus, and species. Likewise, the contents of the volumes themselves appear to be randomly arranged. Volume three contains trees, herbs, and reeds.[262] Volume four features fruit trees, resinous trees, wood, palms, fruitful herbs, and flowers.

[261] "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Porlier, Trujillo, 2 December 1788," Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 978. Cartas y Expedientes: Curiosidades para el Jardín Botánico.

[262] I am still trying to determine whether these are Latin names and what they might imply about the melange of approaches the Bishop used for this project. The Benson Library holds a Caismiro Gómez Ortega work that hopefully will clarify the meaning of these words.

Volume five, which features medicinal herbs, contains specimens set apart as having greater importance and potential profits.

The other main area of Martínez Compañón's botanical work was in his collections. These seem to have been relatively well received in Spain, because when the twenty-four boxes arrived at the royal palace in October 1789, King Carlos IV expressed his thanks for "the care and effort employed in compiling them with such good selection."[263] Upon opening them he and his ministers found pottery by native artisans, masks, tools, and instruments; indigenous weapons; minerals from Hualgayoc and other mines in Trujillo; textiles, and taxidermied animals, including a *cahapi-curo* (or porcupine), which the Bishop described as a "worm between thorns."[264] Cases within boxes held snails and other marine species. The collections also contained manmade items: agricultural implements, local manufactures such as cotton stockings, gloves, and even flowers made from silk and velvet by the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Trujillo. The King's assistants also unwrapped a portrait of his predecessor, King Carlos III, made by local but unidentified artisans. There were several more curious items, such as lizard butter (which, according to the Bishop, the Indians used to cure pain and sold for two *reales* a pound[265]), a rock in the shape of a cross, and part of a "femur bone that seems to be from a giant, already half petrified, taken from a field near Santiago de Chucho in the Province of Huamachuco."[266] It not difficult to imagine the knowing smirks that would have spread across the mouths of the Crown-sponsored natural historians as they received what was purportedly a "giant" bone sent by an eccentric Bishop in distant Peru.

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[263] "Ha querido tener Su Majestad el gusto y satisfacción de reconocer por sí mismo todos los objetos que encierra, y me manda dar a Vuestra Ilustrisima muy expresivas gracias por el cuidado y fatigas que ha empleado en juntarlos con tan buena elección." "Unidentified letter from El Escorial to Martínez Compañón, 29 October, 1789." Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Cartas y Expedientes: Curiosidades para el Jardín Botánico. Lima, 798.

[264] "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.," Sevilla: Archivo General de las Indias, Lima 798, Box 18.

[265] Box 11, Division 3. Ibid.

[266] In Division 3 of box 6, the Bishop listed specimen number 20 as "cabeza del hueso femur que parece ser de gigante, ya medio petrificada, sacada de un campo immediato de Santiago de Chucho en la Provincia de Huamachuco." Ibid.

Unfortunately, except for some pottery pieces housed in the Museo de América in Madrid, all of the collections' materials, from the lizard butter to the stuffed porcupine, are now gone. The only existing information derives from the written descriptions Martínez Compañón penned for their inventory. The loss of the collections would not have likely shocked Martínez Compañón, who was well aware of how natural specimens might rot, die, or otherwise become unusable. This was the sad fate of the menagerie of colorful Peruvian birds he had carefully packaged for safekeeping prior to their trans-Atlantic journey. In spite of his most careful precautions, the birds' feathers molded in the humid climate of coastal Peru and had to be discarded. He wrote to Antonio Porlier in 1788 that the loss of the birds caused him "grave sadness and pain," because "arranging such a beautiful collection [had taken] no small amount of work… it contained two pieces of each of almost every species known in the bishopric."[267]

Likewise, the botanical specimens did not survive.[268] This is partially due to the common procedure of dispersing different elements of collections to separate institutions– medical material to the royal pharmacy, botanical material to the botanical garden, and zoological specimens to the natural history museum. Documents reveal that the Bishop's botanical specimens arrived at the Royal Botanical Garden.[269] His seventeen samples of quinine were promptly shipped off to the Royal Pharmacy, where

[267] "Y tuviese por otra parte en mi poder muchas de las especies, de que me he servido para formarla, aunque muchas otras por la distancia de donde se trajeron, y calidades de esta clima se han apolillado en todo, o en parte considerable, sin embargo de mi cuidado, de las que una ha sido de las aves, con grave dolor y pena mía, porqu ciertamente formaba una hermosa colección que me había cotado no poco trabajo en proporcionarla, por contener dos piezas de cada una de casi todas las especies conocidas en el Obispado, y aun las de las que no se han perdido algunas se han marchitado bastante." "Martínez Compañón to Antonio Porlier, Trujillo, 2 December, 1788." Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 798. Cartas y Expedientes: Curiosidades para el Jardín Botánico.

[268] Spanish art historian Paz Cabello confirms that at least the pottery collections (four separate boxes of which were sent at a later date from Bogotá after the Bishop had assumed his post as Archbishop there) remained at the palace until they were deposited in the natural history cabinet. But these few dozen pottery pieces are the only extant identified parts of Martínez Compañón's collection. Paz Cabello Carro, *Coleccionismo americano indigena en la Espana del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1989), chapter thirteen.

[269] "Manuel González Guisal to Antonio Porlier, Cádiz, 14 August 1789," Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Lima, 978. Cartas y Expedientes: Curiosidades para el Jardín Botánico.

they would have most likely been mixed up with similar specimens.[270] The fate of the animals, manufactures, and curiosities included in the first shipment is unknown. A number of political events could have had affected their safekeeping, such as French pillaging after the Napoleonic invasion and occupation of Spain from 1807 to 1814, or the common nineteenth century practice of selling church goods at public auction.[271] Or, it could be that they were casually discarded as pleasant but inconsequential curiosities. Whatever the reason for their loss, what remains leaves the student of Martínez Compañón's natural history with an intriguing, but confounding set of sources, one based on words without images and images without words.

A thorough comparison of those specimens represented in the watercolors and in the collection inventory of Martínez Compañón's twenty-four boxes reveals significant overlap. In cases of confluence, the images can be compared with the written descriptions in the collection inventory. The vivid results illuminate a local culture with sophisticated botanical traditions and deep ties to ancestral uses of plants. Many of the 488 botanical images that appear in volumes three, four, and five are included in the botanical collections (which total 372 specimens) as well. There is overlap with approximately 198 specimens, but each source of information contains some items that are not replicated. This convergence offers another clue as to how the Bishop conceived and created his overall natural history work. It seems that he imagined the nine volumes and collections as separate elements of one larger project. They deal with similar material but their nature is different. The images are much more controlled than the botanical data, which often provides shockingly honest information about the quotidian lives of the inhabitants of Trujillo. The idealized fashion in which the nine volumes portray daily activities is a far cry from what is included in the botanical descriptions in the collection inventory.

This contradiction suggests that in some ways, the botanical descriptions provide the least manipulated information about indigenous culture in Martínez Compañón's work. He was unable or unwilling to complete the final cross-reference between the

[270] "Letter to Marqúes de Valdecaranza, Escorial Palace, 15 December 1789." Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias. Lima, 798. Cartas y Expedientes. Curiosidades para el Jardín Botánico.
[271] Cabello Carro, *Coleccionismo americano indigena en la Espana del siglo XVIII,* chapter four.

collection inventory and the images of the nine volumes, which would have made his project much easier to "read." He may have he intended to draw these connections in his final written work, which illness, old age, and eventually death kept him from completing. This is what makes *The Science of Empire*'s botanical analysis so important – for the first time, it brings to life an incredibly rich source of botanical research materials.

Why would a man of God involve himself in such a project? As with the rest of his efforts, pragmatic, utilitarian ideas drove Martínez Compañón's botanical investigations. Most importantly, he wanted to display the impressive botanical diversity of Trujillo. In a letter to Viceroy Croix written in December 1788, he declared his desire "to furnish [a project] that His Majesty might review with his own eyes, or [to] be informed of…the different qualities of the lands, of the provinces of this Bishopric, and its principal fruits and manufactures of its inhabitants." He wanted his survey to include information about the inhabitants of Trujillo prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, "and especially the present [inhabitants,] so that this report might contribute to the prosperity of the towns of this bishopric, and of the whole nation in general."[272]

Clearly, as a Catholic Bishop, Martínez Compañón was also motivated by Christian duty. He believed that it was the responsibility of prelates "to acquire and communicate all the knowledge possible" about the people and nature of the overseas kingdoms. The Crown directly appointed the majority of Bishops in the late colonial period, and these were to serve the interests of Madrid before those of Rome. It was their duty not only to oversee ecclesiastical matters, but also to provide the Crown with valuable information about its overseas provinces. Such data would help administrators to imagine and implement reforms that would correct the excess and decline that affected much of Spanish America in the late eighteenth century.[273]

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[272] "Excelentisimo senor, Deseoso de proporcionar que Su Majestad pueda por sus propios ojos reconocer, o hacer que se reconozcan, según más fuese de su Real agrado, las diferentes calidades de tierras, de las provincias de este Obispado, y sus principales frutos y manufacturas de sus habitantes, así de los anteriores al tiempo de la conquista, como y especialmente de los presentes, por lo que esta diligencia pueda contribuir a la prosperidad de los pueblos de este Obispado, y a la de toda la nación en general." Martínez Compañón to Viceroy Croix, Trujillo, 29 May 1786," Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Miscelánea 46, Document 20, 602-627.

[273] "Y haciendome así mismo cargo de cuan propio sea de los Prelados adquirir y comunicar todos los conocimientos que les sean posibles sobre los dichos articulos por lo respectivo al

While this helps to explain why the Bishop undertook such a momentous effort, how exactly he completed the work remains somewhat mysterious. The surviving documentation does not directly address the mechanics of conceiving and creating any of his natural history research. Neither does it indicate his intentions for the finished work, beyond his goal to inspire similar projects in other Spanish America bishoprics.

Documentation also reveals that like so many natural history projects produced in colonial Spanish America, a questionnaire was the basis of this project. Distributed in a pastoral letter of April 1782, this asked parish priests and their assistants to gather and prepare information on the natural history and political economy of the area. The Bishop would then collect this data when he arrived in each location as part of his *visita*. He requested that parish priests tell him about agricultural products, and "medicinal herbs, branches, or fruits," as well as the "form, the virtue of each one of them, and the method of applying and using them." He inquired whether there were any special woods in the area, and what they might be used for.[274] Compiling such a wealth of data on Trujillo was crucial, the Bishop wrote, because he was absolutely "persuaded that within this diocese we have much more than what we imagine, and that a distinct and thorough knowledge of it could be of great utility."[275]

Priests were not the only collaborators in the *Trujillo del Perú* project. The Bishop also relied on acquaintances. For instance, Antonio Heremeregildo de Querejazu, a dear friend in Lima, loaned the Bishop copies of works by Nicholas Monardes, which proved to be very influential in his project. Martínez Compañón also asked Hermeregildo to

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distrito de sus Diocesis, no solo por la calidad de vasallos, y de vasallos tan distinguidos y honrados por la real piedad y magnificiencia de Su Majestad, y tan deudores por todos respetos a su nación, sino tambien por razón de su ministerio, por lo que sus oficios en esta parte puedan contrubuir a la reforma de lujo perjudicial y dañoso en los lugares donde lo hubiese." Martínez Compañón to Antonio Porlier, Trujillo, 2 December, 1788. Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Cartas y expedientes: curiosidades para el Jardín Botanico, Lima 798.

[274] This of course was in keeping with what Paula de Vos has noted was a special interest in new woods as potentially lucrative products in the period. De Vos, "Research, Development, and Empire: State Support of Science in the Later Spanish Empire."

[275] "Si hay algunas hierbas, palos, o frutas medicinales, cuales sean, y cual su figura, la virtud de cada una de ellas, y modo de aplicarlas y usarlas…Pues estoy persuadido de que dentro de la diocesis tenemos mucho más de lo que nos imaginamos, y que un distinto y cabal conocimiento de ello podria acarrear mucha ultilidad." "Pastoral letter of Martínez Compañón," 1782. Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Cartas y expedientes: curiosidades para el Jardín Botanico, Lima 798,

send him any other works on birds, animals, or fossils that might be available, and "any printed museum," (he specifically mentioned the work of Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher) or "description of a voyage to a kingdom, or province."[276] Hermeregildo presumably complied and helped the Bishop to secure the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works that provided valuable inspiration.

But where did the Bishop find his detailed information on preparing poisons for hunting, on local culinary delicacies, and on herbal cures for various diseases? This sort of information did not likely come from parish priests, Lima elites, or natural history books. A close reading of the botanical sources indicates that local informants provided much of it, and presumably, some of these were native Peruvians. The same can be assumed of the artisans who created the botanical images. Martínez Compañón's records do not discuss contracting or training any illustrators. Scholars typically assume that this means local, untrained artists who were not considered important enough to be mentioned by name or to become part of the historical record created the images. In using native informants to complete his natural history project, Martínez Compañón participated in a rather long-standing tradition of Hispanic imperial science.

How to Write the History of Peoples Without History

Almost as soon as they arrived in the New World, Europeans began sending home fantastic tales, freakish specimens, and colorful evidence of unimaginable riches found in the Americas. These exchanges initiated a vibrant tradition of trans-Atlantic information exchange that continued to expand throughout the colonial period. While Europeans appreciated tactile wonders such as living, dried, or stuffed specimens, given the cumbersome realities of sixteenth-century shipping, assuring the objects' safe arrival in Europe was difficult. Often the best method for sharing knowledge was through the written word. Eventually these accounts moved away from stories of El Dorado and the fierce women of the Amazonas tribe, and became instead detailed texts meant to inform

[276] "Veame…si en el estudio…hay algun museo impreso como el de Bormio, Kircher…y la descripción de algun viaje de algun reino, o provincia." "Martínez Compañón to Don Augustin Hermeregildo de Querejazu," Trujillo, unspecified, 1788." Lima: Archivo Historico Nacional, Correspondencia, D1-25-727.

the Spanish crown, the Spanish people, and the world about the customs, histories, and natural environments of the Americas.

In their sixteenth-century manifestations, these works reflected the polyglot intellectual traditions of the European Renaissance and drew on a wide variety of sources, including linguistic studies, maps, surveys, and botanical investigations. Such information, often gathered with help of indigenous informants, was the only European-style data available on this part of the globe, as America was not mentioned in any ancient texts. But the lack of classical references posed a problem for text-based European epistemologies. In this conception of information gathering, the lack of any ancient authoritative work on America meant that there were no credible authorities that could be cited in studies of the New World. For some, this led to serious epistemological challenges. The people of the New World had no written past, but contemporary historical writing necessitated references to classical authorities. Without these connections to past intellectual traditions, works seemed speculative or amateur. How then, could sixteenth-century historians and natural historians write histories of peoples who, according to their traditions, had no history?

As the first Europeans to settle in America permanently, the Spanish were forced to find some way to fit the Americans into their understandings of the world. Their search for alternative sources of historical authority led them to a completely logical but somewhat unconventional source – the Indians themselves. Collaboration with indigenous informants, either directly or through third parties (most often Hispanicized native elites) quickly became an essential method for gathering information about the New World. Those who studied American customs, animals, and botany all relied on consultations with Indians, and what had begun as a necessity eventually became a rich scientific convention. As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra writes in *How to Write the History of the New World*, in the early colonial period, many "Spanish antiquarians thought of their work as 'translation' of indigenous testimonies stored in *quipus*, songs, and other recordkeeping devices."[277] With no good reason to discount such collaborations and no

[277] Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World. Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World,* 80.

viable alternate sources of information, Europeans accepted these works as trustworthy sources of information about America.

An excellent example of this collaborative tradition is the first known medical book written in America, the *Badianus Manuscript*, also known as the *Codex Barberini* (1552.) Commissioned by Viceroy Antonio Mendoza of Mexico as a gift for King Charles V of Spain, native Mexican Martín de la Cruz, a professor of indigenous medicine at the College of Santa Cruz for Indian nobles in Tlaltilulco, wrote the Nahuatl manuscript. Cruz himself had studied at the college and was undoubtedly familiar with the many projects overseen by the Franciscans who lived and worked there, such as Alonso de Molina, Jerónimo de Mendieta, and Bernardino Sahagún. The Spaniards directed, compiled, and edited texts that relied on information provided by Indians, but the resulting works were mainly Hispanic in form and execution. However, there is no known Franciscan involvement with the Badianus Manuscript.[278] Instead, scholars assume that Cruz himself gathered the botanical details from local informants with whom he worked.[279] Then he compiled the information on various plants and their traditional uses and wrote the text in his native tongue. Juan Badianus, another Indian from Xochimilco and a professor of Latin at Santa Cruz, then translated the text into Latin. Finally, an anonymous group of (presumably indigenous) artisans from the college created the images that accompanied the text.

The practice of combining European and American botanical traditions continued in 1570 when King Phillip II of Spain appointed Francisco Hernández (1530-1587) to be *protomédico*, or surgeon general[280], of the Indies. As *protomédico,* it was Hernández' responsibility to oversee all medical work, including teaching, certifying new doctors, handling matters of public health, and supervising ethics. In addition, he was to investigate the natural world of New Spain. The King instructed him to consult "medicine

[278] Martinus de la Cruz, *The Badianus Manuscript. An Aztec Herbal of 1552. (Codex Barberini, Latin 241). Vatican Library*., Emily Walcott Emmart trans. (Baltimore, 1940), foreword.
[279] Robertson does mention, however, that it is possible that the Badianus manuscript employed the same informants used for Sahagún's Florentine Codex, 158.
[280] Simon Varey and Rafael Chabrán, "Medical Natural History in the Renaissance: The Strange Case of Francisco Hernández." *The Huntington Library Quarter*ly 57 (Spring, 1994): 124-151.

men, herbalists, Indians, and other persons with knowledge in such matters" in order to gather information about "herbs, trees, and medicinal plants."[281]

In order to claim the botanical riches of New Spain for the Spanish crown, Hernández first had to locate, name, and describe them. To fulfill these orders, he founded an expeditionary company. He and his son spent seven years investigating and describing over 1200 native Mexican plant species. Their travels were Spain's first official natural history expedition to the New World, and although in scope, detail, and technique it would be surpassed, it created a model that later natural historians would turn to, especially in terms of collaboration with indigenous informants.[282] This practical innovation would prove to be of lasting influence, as other sixteenth-century botanists would continue the practice out of necessity, and as we shall see, many of their eighteenth-century heirs would foster it out of Hispanic and local Spanish American pride.

Like the creator of the Badianus manuscript, Hernández consulted native informants. However, since he was a Spaniard this must have been more of a challenge for him than it was for the indigenous Cruz. Some scholars argue that Hernández faced difficulties convincing indigenous informants to share information.[283] However, his finished work, the *Natural History of New Spain*, demonstrates that he gathered reams of knowledge by interviewing natives. Much of it originated from working alongside Spanish clergy in hospitals where indigenous peoples received traditional cures for treatment.[284] His texts provide detailed information on everything from native birth practices of Mexican women, to a careful description of Mexican markets, and regional burial practices. Medical information ranged from cures for headaches, runny noses, and hair

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[281] Letter to Francisco Hernández from King Phillip II, January 11, 1570. Quoted in Simon Varey, ed., *The Mexican Treasury. The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández* (Stanford, 2000), 46.
[282] José Maria López Piñero, "Las Plantas del Mundo en la Historia. Ciencia, Botánica, y Vida Humana.," in *Las Plantas del Mundo en la Historia. Ilustraciónes Botánicas de Cinco Siglos.*, ed. José and Manuel Costa Taléns. López Piñero (Valencia, 1996), 21.
[283] Rafael Chabrán, and Simon Varey, "Entr'acte," in *Searching for the Secrets of Nature: The Life and Works of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, ed. Cynthia L. Chamberlin Rafael Chabrán, Simon Varey (Stanford, 2000), 106.
[284] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?" *Perspectives on Science* 12 (2004) 99-100.

loss. His informants also told him how to create charms to ward off spells (by drinking the *coanenepilli* or *zocobut* root, or carrying a crystalline stone known as an *iztehuílotl* on one's body[285]) and how to have good luck (by carrying a sprig of the *ihuixóchitl* tree, which had a red flower resembling a bird's feather, on one's person.[286]) Rafael Chabrán argues that examples like these illustrate how in compiling his work, Hernández himself became "the vehicle for native information…the framework of each description was…Spanish, the main body of content Mexican."[287]

Even more widely known and read than Hernández was Spanish physician and doctor Nicolás Monardes (1493-1588.) One of the most influential botanists of the sixteenth century, Monardes created a medical career based on knowledge he gathered from Spaniards in America who had personal contacts with indigenous informants. Although he never crossed the Atlantic himself, Monardes maintained a botanical garden in Seville where he cultivated specimens brought back from the New World. His works such as *Diálogo llamado pharmacodilosis* (1536) and *Historia Medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales* (1574) were so well-known throughout Europe that they were one of the main avenues through which Europeans who had never been to the New World learned about it.[288]They were among the most well known texts of their time, in any field.[289] They appealed not only to curiosity about the Indies and their natural environment, but also to the desire for commercial wealth, as they detailed plants with vastly promising profit potentials.[290] Monardes was the first European to describe the *jalapa*, blood flower, and sassafras plants (among others) and

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[285] Francisco Hernández, "Verdadera Medicina Cirugía y astrología, 1607," in *The Mexican Treasury. The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, ed. Simon Varey (Stanford, 2000), 82.
[286] Francisco Hernández, "Cuatro Libros de la Naturaleza, 1615," in *The Mexican Treasury - The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, ed. Simon Varey (Stanford, 2000) , 127.
[287] Chabrán, "Entr'acte," 107.
[288] Daniela Bleichmar, "Books, Bodies, and Fields. Sixteenth-Century Transatlantic Encounters with New World *Materia Medica*," in *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, ed. Londa Schiebinger (Philadelphia, 2005), 81.
[289] López Piñero, "Las Plantas del Mundo en la Historia. Ciencia, Botánica, y Vida Humana," 19.
[290] Cruz, *The Badianus Manuscript. An Aztec Herbal of 1552. (Codex Barberini, Latin 241). Vatican Library.*

while he was not the first person to write about tobacco, he did provide the first correct lengthy description of it.[291]

Throughout his career, Monardes specialized in knowledge of medicines from the Indies. Because American plants were new to European pharmacists, physicians, and patients, his descriptions provided factual details like names, situations, places and dates; all of which served to verify the information conveyed. The descriptions also provided as much detail as possible about how to use the plant, and for what ailment. For instance, the description of tobacco in *Joyfull Newes Out of the Newe Founde Worlde*, an English translation of Monardes' work published in London in 1577, is twenty-three pages long. It begins with the acknowledgement that tobacco is "known amongst the Indians, and…especially among them of …New Spain, and after that those countries were gotten by our Spaniards, being taught of the Indians, they did profit themselves of those things, in the wounds which they received in their wars, healing themselves therewith."[292] Without ever having been to New Spain or America, Monardes was aware that tobacco grows best in hot climates, and flourishes in shaded, well-tilled ground. He provided an accurate description of the flower, seed, root, and leaves of the plant. Its leaves could be applied to soothe headaches, and when mixed with sugar to create syrup it served as an expectorant. Among other uses, women of the Indies rubbed the ashes of the burned plant on their children to help with breathing.[293] More than any other botanist, Monardes helped to spread in Europe the notion that botanical information culled from native informants could be highly valuable.[294]

Although the early modern Spanish were accomplished at botanical medicine, botanists in America could rely only so much on what they learned at the University of the Alcalá de Henares when they confronted an entirely new lexicon of plants, none of

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[291] Francisco Guerra, *Nicolas Bautista Monardes. Su vida y su obra.* (Mexico, D.F., 1961), 54-63.
[292] Nicholas Monardes, *Joyfull Newes Out of the Newe Founde Worlde. Written in Spanish by Nicholas Monardes, Physician of Seville and Englished by John Frampton, Merchant, Anno 1577*, ed. Charles Whibley, The Tudor Translatons (London, 1925), 34.
[293] Ibid, 36.
[294] The reader will recall that in 1788, Martínez Compañón requested to borrow copies of his works from a friend in Lima. "Martínez Compañón to Don Augustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Trujillo, July 25, 1788." Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Francisco Moyrera Matute, #564.

which they knew how to prepare or employ. Uncovering the medicinal uses of American plants was not only a matter of reporting to the Crown; it was also a necessity. Europeans who fell ill in the New World had no choice but to garner information about botanical cures from the natives, who could be forthcoming or reticent with their knowledge based on ancestral traditions.

Although a cooperative approach flourished in the sixteenth century, seventeenth century scholarship did not highlight the accomplishments and culture of Native Americans. Instead, texts focused on their continued idolatries, and promoted programs of harsh punishment for infractors.[295] By the age of Enlightenment, the loss of prestige the Indians had suffered in the eyes of Europeans meant that indigenous texts, images, and records were no longer treated as valuable historical sources. To the contrary - they provided freakish demonstrations of the stunted growth of the human mind in America.[296]

Historians such as Jorge Cañizares, Antonello Gerbi, David Brading, and Anthony Pagden all address this sea change in views of Indians as the colonial period progressed. However, as Cañizares in particular shows, not every Enlightenment scholar discredited native sources. Some Hispanic botanists stood against this eighteenth-century convention when they argued in favor of native sources and information, or employed them in their own natural history works. Instead of dismissing contemporary natives, these men portrayed them as Hispanicized, orderly, hardworking citizens who could readily offer useful knowledge about the natural world. Often European observers catalogued the monuments, pottery, and elaborate burials that were the accomplishments of the Indians' ancestors. However, unlike in the rest of Europe, Hispanic scholars did not interpret the disparity between ancient and contemporary indigenous cultures as a sign of their inevitable decay.[297]

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[295] For typical Spanish treatment of native culture, see Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion in Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton, 1997).
[296] Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World. Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World,* chapter two.
[297] Francois Frezier and Comte de Buffon were two Frenchmen, for example, who argued that the puny remains of Inca structures showed only that the contemporary Peruvian indians were depraved and idiotic. Ibid., chapter 1.

In Peru, one such figure was naturalist José Eusebio Llano Zapata (1721-1780). Like many Enlightenment natural histories, his *Memorias histórico, físicas, crítico, apologéticas de la América Meridional* (1757) sustained that "direct observation should be the fundamental way of understanding the animal and vegetable kingdom."[298] His scholarly interests ranged from minerals to botany to animals and curiosities. He wrote about salt mines and volcanoes or "the mouths where underground fire breathes."[299] He informed his readers about various animals, from monkeys to puercos *monteses* (mountain pigs) who "always go about together in troops of about three hundred, always following one who guides them as captain," this individual being "the skinniest, oldest, and most tusked of them."[300] At the same time, as the son of a priest and a close friend of the Bishop of Charcas, Llano Zapata clearly identified with his Catholic beliefs. He found no contradiction between his research and his faith.[301] In fact, Llano Zapata embodied the definition of a Catholic *ilustrado*. Victor Peralta has identified him as a man who "attempted to create a defense of religion with developing an experimental methodology and critical reason."[302]

While Llano Zapata viewed his work as a spiritual exercise, he also provided important information about the native peoples of America. For example, indigenous names appear throughout the text, such as this description of the *Calaguala* plant: "*Calaguala*…is a small root. It is comprised of two Indian words. *Kala* means "to break" and *guala* signifies "'tumor,'…as if to say that this plant has the virtue of breaking

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[298] "Es tambien el tesimonio de un científico ilustrado convencido de que sólo la observación directa debe ser el camino fundamental para valorar los reinos vegetal y animal." Charles Walker, "Prólogo," in *José Eusebio Llano Zapata. Memorias histórico, físicas, crítico, apologéticas de la América Meridional*, ed. Ricardo and Antonio Garrido Aranda Ramírez Castañeda, Luis Millones Figueroa, Víctor Peralta Ruiz, and Charles Walker (Lima, 2005), 23.
[299] Jose Eusebio de Llano Zapata, "Memorias histórico, físicas, crítico, apologéticas de la América Meridional," in *José Eusebio Llano Zapata. Memorias histórico, físicas, crítico, apologéticas de la América Meridional*, ed. Ricardo and Antonio Garrido Aranda Ramírez Castañeda, Luis Millones Figueroa, Víctor Peralta Ruiz, and Charles Walker (Lima, 2005), 333.
[300] Ibid., 509
[301] Victor Peralta Ruiz, "Las tribulaciones de un ilustrado católico. José Eusebio Llano Zapata en Cádiz (1756-1780)," ed. Ricardo and Antonio Garrido Aranda Ramírez Castañeda, Luis Millones Figueroa, Víctor Peralta Ruiz, and Charles Walker (*José Eusebio Llano Zapata. Memorias histórico, físicas, crítico, apologéticas de la América Meridional,* 2005).
[302] Ibid., 38.

tumors."[303] Using native identifiers was, as it had been in the sixteenth century, partially a practical matter. By the age of Enlightenment, it was also a political choice that spoke about the value of indigenous systems of knowledge.

Another contemporary of Martínez Compañón who reached back into the humanist tradition while engaging with Enlightenment culture was José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez (1729-1799.) Born in Ozumba, Mexico, Alzate was ordained as a priest in 1761, and served as a mapmaker and planner for Archbishop Francisco de Lorenzana of Mexico. He studied mercury mining and planned a water storage system for Mexico City. He explored the ruins of Xochicalco in 1777 and presented Viceroy Antonio Maria de Bucareli with a written report complete with illustrations.

Through his many publications, Alzate soon established himself as an outspoken defender of Hispanic and American culture and knowledge. He spoke against the Spanish Crown's blind adherence to the principles and Latin-based classifications of Linnaean botany. In his opinion, the fact that the Spanish crown had officially mandated all crown-sponsored scientific projects employ the Linnaean system indicated to him nothing but its disregard for Spanish American science.[304] Linnaean botany also required the use of instruments that were prohibitively expensive in Spanish America. In his view, the Swedish devised system did not consider local circumstances of plant life and thus overlooked the unique characteristics of Spanish American plants. He also found its focus on sexual systems of plans offensive, and more importantly and incongruous with the way Native Americans understood their nature that surrounded them. Most problematic, however, was the issue of naming. In the Linnaean system, plants were not identified not by their local names. In Alzate's mind, this disregard for Spanish, Spanish

[303] "*Calaguala*…es una raicilla..componese de dos voces indicas: kala que significa rompe y guala tumor, como que diría raíz que tiene la virtud de romper tumores...Hasta ahora he visto ningún caso logrado dde su uso. Ni sé que se prescriba en los reales hospitales de Liima para algunas de las enfermedades que hemos arriba enunciado."Llano Zapata, "Memorias histórico, físicas, crítico, apologéticas de la América Meridional," 492.

[304] Antonio and Nuria Valverde Lafuente, "Linnaen Botany and Spanish Imperial Biopolitics," in *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, ed. Londa and Claudia Swan Schiebinger (Philadelphia, 2005), 138.

American, and Native American knowledge was a clear affront to Hispanic scientific autonomy.[305]

Figure 4.1. Mugues, used in Trujillo to cure "French Disease."

Spanish historian of science Francisco Javier Puerto Sarmiento argues that Alzate's hard line against Linnaean classifications situates him within the camp of Hispanic scientists who refused to bow to metropolitan fashions and agendas. Instead, they pursued a science that was more pragmatic than most unfocused metropolitan projects.[306] Largely because it rejected Linnaean taxonomy and the courtesan mindset that characterized Spanish scientific institutions and expeditions, Spanish American

[305] Ibid.
[306] Francisco Javier Puerto Sarmiento, "José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez Ante la Ciencia Española Ilustrada," in *Periodismo Científico en el siglo XVIII: Jos é Antonio Alzate y Ramírez*, ed. Patricia Aceves Pastrana (México, D.F., 2001).

science (when done either by peninsulars such as José Celestino Mutis or by creoles like Alzate Ramírez) developed more organically and privileged local circumstances.

The Traditions and Politics of Botany in Martínez Compañón's Natural History

Martínez Compañón's botanical work, then, is a uniquely Hispanic production. It displays the deep collaboration with indigenous informants that was typical of sixteenth-century Spanish botany. At the same time, it also had obvious ties to the politicized natural history of the eighteenth century. In fact, his botanical efforts focused on the pragmatic commercial and political goals of the Spanish Bourbon program of the age of Enlightenment.

In the inventory of his collections, the Bishop described several plants that were known cures for major diseases, as well as others that had not yet been described by Europeans. Fully aware that medicines for toothaches and colds were not going to revive its flagging finances, the Spanish crown sought instead such higher value specimens. The Spaniards were ashamed that the first European to describe quinine and its uses had not been a Spaniard, but instead Frenchman Charles-Marie La Condamine, who "discovered" it on his expedition to measure the equator in Spanish America from 1735 to 1743. According to La Condamine, Peruvian Indians told him they had learned of the uses of quinine from observing how lions suffering from fevers would chew the bark of the *chicona* tree, which produced quinine.[307] *Cascarilla*, as it was known in Peru, turned out to be highly effective in treating human fevers as well. By the late-eighteenth-century, it was by weight the most valuable import from Spanish America. It also directly aided European colonization efforts by helping settlers combat the fevers of the tropics.[308] Naturally, Martínez Compañón was fully aware of the cultural significance of quinine, and he prepared an entire box with seventeen samples of it, painstakingly noting which region of Trujillo each sample was from and at what it typically sold.

[307] Schiebinger, "Prospecting for Drugs. European Naturalists in the West Indies," 124.
[308] Ibid.

Martínez Compañón must have hoped in some way to find the next quinine when he cataloged and described the medicinal plants of Trujillo. Quechua names identified many of these specimens, indicating that Indians knew of their curative properties. The collection suggests several traditional Peruvian cures that might have been profitable as trade items, including *mugues*[309] and *palo de chino*[310]which were for syphilis (called "*galico*" by the Spanish, better known in English as "French disease.") Herbs such as *llusqui* could also cure the large boils caused by venereal diseases that were known as "*bubas*".[311] Surely any imperial power that could have harnessed such medicines would have found itself dazzlingly rich almost instantaneously.

The vast majority of the herbs inventoried, were homeopathic cures for everyday aches and pains. These were valuable more for their practical application than for any commercial trade purposes. For cold-like symptoms, the *sangarupauran* reed could ease throat inflammation,[312] and a runny nose could be alleviated with the juice of the *reuma* leaves.[313] Several plants could assist with tooth pain, including the *salvaje* herb[314]or *conana* resin.[315] For teeth that were beyond palliative care, the sap of the *catahua* tree could ease their removal.[316] Surely this was preferable to visiting the terrifying looking dentist shown below.

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[309] "Mugues, o arbol de lugares fríos, su hoja se toma bien hervida para curar galico." "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.," Cajón 11, número 55.

[310] "Palo de Chino, arbol de lugares fríos, su raíz puesta a la tinaja continuamente, y bebida el agua, se tiene por buena para curar galico." Ibid.

[311] Ibid.

[312] "Sangarupauran, bejuco que se da en lugares frios y templados, su cocimiento se usa en gargaras, para…inflamaciones de garantas." Cajón 11, número 77. Ibid.

[313] "Reuma, hierba de lugares templados, el zumo de su hoja estrujada se sirve por las narices, para curar fluxiones y corrimientos." Cajón 12, número 58. Ibid.

[314] "Salvaje, que se cria en los arboles de lugares calientes..la hoja aplicada a la picadura de las muelas, se dice que quite su dolor." Cajón 11, número 75. Ibid.

[315] "Conana, o bilco. Arbol de lugares templados…su resina se tiene por buena para curar el dolor de muelas." Cajón 12, número 18. Ibid.

[316] "Catahua, arbol de lugares calientes…Este abrol, cuando la pican, echa leche, la cual teiene por buena aplicada a los dientes o muelas para deshacerlos." Cajón 12, número 16. Ibid.

Two options for dental care: visiting the dentist or applying the resin of this tree.

Figure 4.2. Indian having a tooth removed.

Figure 4.3. *Canana (conana.)*

Other common everyday complaints to be cured with American herbs were digestive issues. One useful medicine was *huachapurga*, which the Bishop noted was commonly known as the "purgative of the poor." In the collection inventory, he explained it should be taken in the form of a stew made with butter, onions, potatoes, and garlic, commonly eaten for breakfast.[317] If such a stew worked too well, the person could always turn to the *pedorrera*, or "farter" herb, which was politely used to "destroy winds."[318] Several other plants addressed health concerns. The *romana* herb was useful for healing wounds, sores, and burns.[319] The juice of the *anatqui* plant could be applied

[317] "Huachapurga, que en Castellano quiere decir purga de pobres, hierba de lugares calientes, se tiene por purgante haciendo guiso de ella con manteca, cebolla, ajos, papas, y ajo, y si se quiere, tomandolo como desayuno." Cajón 11, número 41. Ibid.
[318] "Pedorrera, hierba de lugares templados semejante a la albahaca, pero sin olor, su cocimiento bebido…para quitar el estrenimiento y destruir ventosidades." Cajón 12, número 49. Ibid.
[319] "Romana, hierba de luagres templados, su cocimiento aplicado en baños se tiene por buena para curar heridas, llagas, y quemaduras." Cajón 12, número 57. Ibid.

to eyes that had been damaged by a direct blow to the face and were swollen or had clouded vision.[320]A rather gruesome but certainly useful function of the *navarrete* reed was that its bark could be shaved, and "when introduced on sores that have grown worms, [it will] kill them and cure the sore."[321]

Yet other local plants and herbs treated diseases which were endemic to the area. The *angusacha plant*, for example, is described as follows:

> *Angusacha,* from hot and warm places, ground and applied like a paste it is used to bring abscesses to a head. From its stalk pellets are made to put on the heads of them, because it is a purgative. *Angusacha*, which in Castilian means "corrosive herb," is also used as a powder to cure wounds, and '*uta.*'[322]

[320] "Hojas y flores de anatqui, que se cria en lugares templados, y se hace uso del zumo de ella, cuando por algun golpe se inflaman, o hinchan los ojos, auqnue ya hayan criado nube por dicho causa, destinalndo en ellos con un algodoncito." Cajón 11, atado 4, número 68. Ibid.
[321] "Navarrete, bejuco que se enreda en los arboles de lugares templados, su corteza raspada y aplicada o introducida en las llagas que han criado gusanos los mata y las sana." Cajón 12, número 46. Ibid.
[322] "*Angusacha*, propria de lugares calientes y templados, molida y puesta como emplastro se usa para madurar apostemas, y de su tallo se hacen pelotillos para poner en las frentes, por ser purgantes. *Angusacha*, que en Castellano quiere decir hierba corriosa, también se usa de sus polvos para curar las llagas, y la uta." Box 11, Specimen 6. Ibid.

Figure 4.5. A mestizo scarred by "uta." He holds an *angusacha* branch in his right arm, on his left arm a spot of the paste Martínez Compañón describes is applied to a sore.

Figure 4.4. *Angusacha,* used to treat "uta" or leshmaniasis.

"Uta" was and is a popular Andean term for the skin disease leshmaniasis, caused by the leshmanania parasite transmitted to people from sand flies or animals.[323]

[323] "La leishmaniasis es una enfermedad infecciosa provocada por un parásito denominado leishmania. La fuente de infección de la enfermedad son los animales afectados, como por ejemplo, roedores, perros y diversos mamíferos salvajes…Actualmente, los pobladores de la sierra y tribus selváticas, como los ashaninkas, utilizan plantas con propiedades curativas contra la leishmaniasis, siendo de gran interés su estudio, ya que el reino vegetal es considerado como fuente de productos naturales con valor medicinal o de precursores útiles para el desarrollo de nuevos productos farmacéuticos…. . Existen en el Perú dos formas principales de la leishmaniasis mucocutánea definidas por características geográficas y clínicas: la leishmaniasis andina (uta) y la leishmaniasis selvática (espundia)…La leishmaniasis es trasmitida por un insecto, el flebótomo. La hembra de éste pica al animal o persona contaminada con leishmania, ingiriéndola con la sangre que absorbe. Una vez en el interior del parásito la leishmania continúa su ciclo de maduración, para posteriormente, cuando éste vuelva a picar de nuevo a otra

Leshmaniasis affects the mucus membranes of the skin and produces ulcers; most often on the face, and sometimes on the extremities. In extreme cases these ulcers can eat away parts of the face[324] or cause a gray or blackish skin tone to develop around the affected sites.[325] Endemic to many parts of Latin America and especially the Andes, the pre-Incaic people of the area , whose pottery depicted its ravages to the human form, were well aware of the disease.[326] Given the predominance of leshmaniasis in the area, it is only logical that the Bishop included a plant that treated it in his collection and decided to represent the *angusacha* plant with an illustration in volume three of *Trujillo del Perú*. While the simple plant image does not provide any additional detail, there is another revealing image in volume two of *Trujillo del Perú* that is closely related.

The image in figure 4.5, identified by Martínez Compañón as a "mestizo scarred by uta," clearly shows a man suffering from leshmaniasis lesions, mainly on the face. He has darkened skin on his nose area. He sits on a tree, but holds a branch in his hand. While style and perspective make it impossible to determine definitively whether this is indeed the same plant in the *angusacha* illustration, he seems to be holding the stalk purposefully. Upon closer examination, a portion of his right forearm is smeared with a green paste, presumably made of the leaves of this plant, just as the Bishop mentioned the locals used *angusacha*. Even more remarkable is the abnormally oversized bug that appears almost out of nowhere on the man's left side. Presumably this is the sand flea that transmitted the disease to the man. This indicates fairly sophisticated knowledge - not only did the Indians know that the angusacha plant could treat *uta*, they were also aware of how the disease spread. While the *angusacha* and uta convergence between

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persona, contaminarla e iniciar el proceso infeccioso… La infección por Leishmania ocasiona una enfermedad en la piel llamada leishmaniasis cutánea que puede afectar las membranas mucosas de diferentes maneras ó con más frecuencia, producir úlceras cutáneas." Bertha Pareja Ana Maria Muñoz, "Dermofarmacia: Plantas medicinales empleadas en el tratamiento de la leishmaniasis," *Folia Dermatológia Peruana* 14 (2003). In their list of plants used to treat uta, the authors do not list the name angusacha, although many of the plants they suggest are named in Latin only and may be the same species.

[324] World Health Organization, Leshmaniasis ([cited); available from http://www.who.int/leishmaniasis/en/.

[325] Kenneth Wener, MD. Beth Israel Medical Center, Boston., Leshmaniasis. (U.S. National Library of Medicine and the National Institutes of Health., [cited); available from http://www.nlm.nih.gov/medlineplus/ency/article/001386.htm.

[326] Organization, Leshmaniasis ([cited).

the nine volumes and the collection inventory is a uniquely stimulating one, it is not the only provocative result of a close reading of these separate sources.[327]

Not only cures for disease promised potential financial windfalls, but the Bishop's botanical research also reflected broader concerns. European trade in dyestuffs was brisk, and the Bishop listed many dye materials, such as the *pul* plant, which could produce a yellow color,[328] or *mihquichilca*, used for dying fabric green.[329] Peru's plant life also included potentially valuable fibers. The Bishop noted that the *cambira* palm produced a fiber "similar to the fiber used in the fabrics of China," or silk.[330] Silk was a highly desirable luxury good in trans-Atlantic trade, and it was made all the more precious since it did not fare well in transport by boat as high humidity could easily damage the delicate fibers. Furthermore, silk production was not reliable, and a bad harvest could mean a drastically reduced amount of available product. Conflict with England could also interrupt shipping of raw silk from America to Spain, or of finished silk back to the overseas kingdoms.[331] An American cultivated replacement could have been a welcome alternative. However, it seems that no one ever paid much attention to Martínez Compañón's idea to produce *cambira* reeds as a substitute for silk.

Chocolate was another American product that was well placed in the European luxury goods market. The Bishop himself was somewhat of an aficionado who fretted when the cacao used to make it was not available. From the provincial town of Lambayeque, he wrote despairingly to friends in Lima that "not one grain of cacao have I

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[327] A more thorough investigation of the convergences between the two could be made at a later point with assistants and databases, or software that would be able to search word by word through the transcribed collection inventories.

[328] "Hoja y flores de pul, que se cria en lugares templados, y sirve para el tinto amarillo." "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.," Cajón 11, atado 1, número 17.

[329] "Mihquichilca, que en Castellano quiere decir hierba melosa…sirve también para tenir el color verde." Cajón 11, número 51.

[330] "Cambira, de esta palma se saca una pita muy resia, y parecida a la ebra de algunos de los tejidos de China." "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.," Cajón 12, número 74.

[331] Vincent Ribes, *Los Valencianos y América. El comercio valenciano con Indias en el siglo XVIII.* (Valencia, 1985), chapter four.

been able to find…if it is not possible to find some in this town quickly, we will have to be patient this year."[332] Perhaps deprivation spurred him to search for a viable substitute, for later he noted in the collection inventory that the seed of the *chonta* fruit had the same taste as cacao.[333] If this would not satisfy a sweet tooth, he also included in his collection entire box of what are commonly known in Latin America as *dulce*s: two loaves of sugar from Guayabamba, white cacao from Hibitos, cacao from Jaen (sold for 14 pesos per *quintal*), three different kinds of almonds, and coffee from Moyobamba.[334] While these items had value in terms of personal enjoyment, the Bishop's inclusion of the price and value of certain items clearly indicates that he understood the commercial value of these products. Like Karl Linnaeus in Sweden, he sought to promote an early form of import substitution in order to revitalize the economy of the Hispanic empire.[335]

The botanical specimens in the collection went far beyond sweets and small items with potential trade value. They also provided a window into how local culture was deeply entwined with plant life. These descriptions enrich understanding of everyday life and customs of late colonial Trujillo. Boxes eleven and twelve of the collection held most of these specimens, which ranged from simple folk remedies such as *floripondio* leaves which were placed beneath one's pillow for sleeplessness, [336] to herbs with home applications such as the *mogomogoprieto* plant for cleaning houses infested with

[332] "Ni un grano de cacao he podido lograr hasta ahora…si en este pueblo no pudiese conseguir de pronto algo, habremos de tener paciencia por este año." Martínez Compañón to Augustin Hermeregildo de Querejazu, Lambayeque, 22 December 1783. Lima: Archivo Historico Nacional, Colección Francisco Moyrera Matute, # 564.

[333] "Chonta, su fruta…encierra una pepita que tiene el gusto de coco, aunque es mas fuerte que este, y de menos jugo." "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.," Cajón 12, número 76.

[334] Ibid.

[335] Koerner discusses how Linnaeus thought, for instance, that instead of purchasing imported tea, the Swedish could drink "Lapp tea," made from a shadow growth. *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation*, chapter four.

[336] "Hojas y flores de Floripondio blanco…dichas flores puestas debajo de la almohada se usan contra los desvelos." "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa."

fleas.[337] Several of the specimens indicate that at least some of the informants and collectors were farmers who knew that the *huanarpo* herb could be given in a cooked form to burros in order to "provoke them to coitus,"[338] and that a certain white herb used when preparing salad was poisonous to guinea pigs should they consume it raw.[339] These agricultural uses of plants clearly suggest the involvement of local, presumably indigenous, informants.

Not surprisingly, many of the everyday customs involving herbs and plants revolved around the lives and health of women. For instance, the inventory mentioned how women washed their hair with rhubarb branches because they believed it prevented hair loss.[340] Nature also offered other beauty enhancers - *jagua* leaves, for instance, were good for softening dry skin.[341] More important than beauty concerns were the many herbs used for pregnancy and childbirth. Several of these could facilitate childbirth– an important contribution to medical knowledge in a time when the dangers of delivery were very real. Martínez Compañón's inventory cited the *fresno* plant, which when it was cooked and applied over the uterus, facilitated difficult births – "the natives tell wonders about it," he noted.[342] The *palo de balza* tree had similar properties.[343] If after the baby was born, the mother still needed to expel the afterbirth, she might use the cooked leaves of the *aylambo* plant.[344] Women who wanted to "stop the curse" or end

[337] "Hojas y flores de mogomogo prieto, que se cria en lugares templados, se usa…para regar las casas que abundan de pulgas." Cajon 11, Atado 2, número 25. Ibid.
[338] "Huanarpo, hierba de lugares ardientes, es muy calida y enciendo los espíritus de la generación, y por tanto se da a los burros cocida para provocarlos al coito." Cajon 11, número 43. Ibid.
[339] "Hierba blanca comestible, la gente pobre hace yuyus de ella, o ensalada con manteca, pero para los cuyes es veneno, si la comen cruda." Cajón 11, número 13. Ibid.
[340] "Ruibarbo en rama, se cria en lugares fríos y cenagosos, y se le atribuyen las mismas virtudes que al Ruibarbo común. Las mujeres se lavan la cabeza con sus hojas estrugadas en agua, para que no se les caiga." Ibid. Cajón 11, número 73.
[341] "Jagua, arbol de luagres templados…se usa…para suavizar el cutis." Ibid. Cajón 12, número 33.
[342] Box 11. Ibid.
[343] "Palo de Balza, arbol de lugares calientes, cuy amadera sirve para hacer balzas…se usa en agua tibia bebida en corta cantidad para facilitar los partos." Ibid. Cajón 12, número 50.
[344] "Hoja y flores de Aylambo, propio de lugares fríos y templos, cuyo cocimiento sirve para tenir obleas a colorado encendido, y bebido para facilitar que las mujeres arrojen las secundinas o pares." Ibid. Cajón 11, atado 1, número 10.

their menstrual cycle, could boil the leaves of the *siempre viva* plant with water.[345] To induce menstruation, they could try the *culantrillo* leaf,[346] or *millma sacha*.[347]

Figure 4.6. *Culantrillo*, used by indigenous women to "induce menstruation," but not censored by the Bishop in his botanical work.

While the Bishop does not mention "inducing menstruation" as anything out of the ordinary, recent work by Londa Schiebinger indicates that in the eighteenth-century, the notion of "inducing menstruation," is not without complications. "Inducing menstruation" most typically meant starting the menstrual cycle in order to terminate a

[345] "Hojas y flores de la siempre viva que se halla en temperamentos templados, hervida en agua y bebida se tiene por buena para atajar el flujo de sangre por el curso."Ibid. Cajón 11, atado 2, número 46.
[346] "Hoja de culantrillo, que se da en lugares templados..y las mujeres la usan para que corra la menstruación." Ibid. Cajón 11, atado 2, número 63.
[347] "Millma sacha, en Castellano hierba peluda, de lugares templados, usan de ella cocida y bebida las mujeres para que les corra la menstruación." Ibid. Cajón 12, número 43.

pregnancy. Indeed, in her consideration of abortifacients and emmenagogues (herbs that induced menstruation) in *Plants and Empire*, Schiebinger points out that although European religious groups officially condemned abortion, ambiguities in the common understanding of exactly when a woman became pregnant and at which moment the pregnancy went from a mere embryo to an actual fetus meant that "taking a menstrual regulator or emmenagogue…was not necessarily considered 'inducing abortion'… A woman ingesting an emmenagogue might not have been sure whether she was inducting a late period or provoking what would be known today as an early term abortion – and she had little reason or ability to distinguish between the two."[348] Indeed, the Spanish Royal Academy of Language Dictionary from 1770 defines abortion as a fetus "born before its time," and the verb to abort as "bad birth, early birth." Neither of these implies an early birth resulting in death specifically caused by the mother or a second party. It is only in the second portion of the definition of "to abort" that any sort of moralizing appears. The entry cautions, "In the ancient law God mandated that he who hurts a pregnant woman and makes her abort will pay with her own life."[349]

As a pious Bishop and the highest ranked representative of the Spanish Catholic church for hundreds of miles, Martínez Compañón was in no position to promote or condone abortion in any way. In fact, in his public communications he decried it as "contrary to reason," and "abominable even among gentiles, and pagans." He even gave specific instructions to parish priests how they might avoid abortions among their flock. First the priest should attempt to marry the couple involved in the unwanted pregnancy. If that did not succeed, he should promise to see to the care of the unwanted child himself. Avoiding abortion was so important that he himself offered to cover the costs of raising the unwanted child, or charging someone else with its care.[350]

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[348] Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World,* 118-119.
[349] "Aborto: parto fuera de tiempo, mal parto." "Abortar: malparir, parir antes de tiempo..En la Ley antigua mandaba Dios, que el que hiriese a una mujer preñada, y la hiciese abortar y malparir, pagase con su propia vida." Diccionario de la Real Academia Española de la Lengua, 1770. Avaiable online at: www.drae.es
[350] "Suele ser más común de lo que tal vez se piensa, aun en las poblaciones pequenas y de no la mayor consideracion y hasta en los despoblados el horrible atentado de procurar el aborto en solteras y viudas embarazadas.Esten pues a la mira los curas y luego que supiesen o prudentemente recetasen que alguna de dichas mujeres de su feligresia se hallase constituida

Figure 4.7. Coca. The Catholic church had quietly condemned the plant, but Martínez Compañón described it with a detached sense of scientific objectivity.

If Martinez Compañón was so opposed to abortion, would he have included several abortive herbs in his botanical collections? Perhaps here his priorities as a natural historian overtook his piety as a Bishop. It might be that the plants were so important to local culture, he chose not to censure them. But more importantly, the inclusion of abortive herbs highlights how the informants who gathered, prepared, and described the plant specimens did not always portray the same orderly, pious society Martínez Compañón and the Bourbon reformers imagined. When examined through the collection inventory, the very people who elsewhere in his work

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en dicho estado tomen todas las precauciones y medidas que les pareciesen mas ajustadas y oportunas para impedir un dano tran grave y de tan funestas consequencias…[que deben buscar los hombres] de las tales mujeres casandose con ellas..[El aborto es] abominable que aun entre gentiles, y paganos a quienes no han llegado las luces del Evangelio, y de la verdad, es un tan criminal atentado, y como semejante inhumanidad y crueldad no solo es contraria y repugnante a la razon… Y hasta de las mas viles sabandijas en fomentar sus fetos luego que los han concebido y en criarlos despues que los han dado a luz, hasta que por se puedan buscar la vida indicandoles asi mismo los medias para qu eno salga al publico la fragilidad de dichas mujeres y ofreciendose hacer cargo d ela educacion de la criatura y aun a constearla si sus padres fuesen pobres, todo segun las circunstancias de los casos constituyendose desde ahora pronto su Senoria Ilustrisima a remitir puntual y anticipadamente con su aviso el importe de los gastos de la lactacion de dichas criaturas y los ulteriores que se causasen hasta que puedan mantenerse por si, o se hubiese hecho cargo de sus manutencion alguna otra persona de facultrades que pueda mantenerlas y educarlas.” “Disposiciones sobre el culto Católico para las distintas parroquías de su diócesis, dictadas por el Excelentisimo Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compazñón,” Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Virreyes 10, Document 15, 525-594.

appear industrious and Hispanicized maintained habits that Europeans would have found morally reprehensible, or at the very least, distasteful. For instance, even though almonds and other tasty *dulces* were available for snacking, the inventory reveals that a favored delicacy of the Indians was the worms that lived in the *achura* palm tree, after they were fried and had released what the inventory referred to as ”butter.”[351] While there was no official state or church sanction against such unsavory dietary habits, there were injunctions against other plants the Bishop included in his collection, namely the use of coca leaves. Coca chewing had been condemned by the Second Lima Church Council of 1567 when it was deemed a useless plant that only encouraged Indian superstitions and bad behavior.[352] A royal decree of 1569 even said that it was the Devil himself who had tricked the Indians into believing that coca fortified them for hard work.[353] Although soon thereafter, the church gave up on official prohibitions, stigma undoubtedly remained.[354] However, instead of thundering with condemnation, Martínez Compañón's inventory calmly described coca as “a small bush that is grown in hot areas, used by those who work in the mines to chew, mixed with some calcium, because they say it gives them strength and takes away the cold.[355] It seems that in his natural history work, at least, he made no moral judgment about its cultural uses.

Neither did the Bishop pass judgment on local botanical practices that he surely knew were to some degree superstitious. For instance, locals believed the *mihquichilca*

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[351] “Achura…esta palma cira unos gusanos que fritos dan manteca, que comen los indios.” "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.," Cajón 12, número 71.

[352] Hipólito Unanue, "Disertación sobre el aspecto, cultivo, comercio, y virtudes de la famosa planta del Perú nombrada COCA.," *Mercurio Peruano* XI (1794).

[353] Ibid.

[354] Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life Has - Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*, 220.

[355] “Coca, arbol pequeños que se cría en lugares ardientes. Hacen uso de ella los que trabajan minas, para mascarla, mescandola con un poco de cal, por que dicen que les da fuerzas, y quita el frío.” "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.," Cajón 11, número 22.

herb could bring success in amorous ventures.[356] When made into juice and distilled in water, the *sombrerillo* plant was applied to the unopened eyes of recently born children .[357] Martínez Compañón wrote that the flowers and leaves of the *mogomogo prieto* were crushed in water and used "to bathe the children that suffer from an accident that around here is known as *pachachari,"* which his inventory described as "sickness from fright."[358]

A modern folklorist from Piura describes *pachacari* as a "neuro-psychiatric sickness in which the individual is affected by a very disagreeable feeling, or a terror provoked by a shock, or by random apparitions."

Figure 4.8., *Mogomogo*, used by curanderos in native ceremonies to cure "sickness from fright."

The individual becomes nervous and loses body weight. The cure for the illness is a visit from the *curandero*, on either Monday or Wednesday night, who covers the body of the individual with the water from the "herb of fright," and forced the affected to drink special concoctions.[359] While this is a

[356] "Mihquichilca, que quiere decir en Castellano hierba melosa, propia de lugares fríos…algunos supersticionamente la trahen para exitar el amor." Ibid.
[357] "Sombrerillo, hierba de lugares templados, el zumo de ella deshecho en agua se tiene por bueno para curar los ojos de los niños recien nacidos, que padecen de ellos." Ibid. Cajón 12, número 59.
[358] "Hojas y flores de mogomogo prieto, que se cria en lugares s y estrujado en agua, se usa para banar a los muchachos que padecen de un accidente, que por aca se llama Pachachari, esto es mal de espanto." Ibid. Cajón 11, atado 2, número 25.
[359] "'Mal de espanto' es…una enfermedad neuro psiquiátrica en la que el individuo es afectedo por una emoción muy desagradable o de terror provocada por un golpe, o por apariciones imprevistas." Benjamín Zapata Serra, Folklore de Sullana ([cited); available from http://lacapullana.tripod.com.pe/sullana_folklore.htm.

contemporary “cure,” it undoubtedly has roots in ancient traditions. Certainly such a treatment for an ailment that was not even an official illness would have been outwardly condemned by the Bishop, who referred to native healers, or *curanderos* as “great liars,” who would “die of hunger” if they were no longer able to “steal and rob from the people with their deceits and tricks.” In his mind, the indigenous medicine men were frauds who claimed to have boundless powers but in fact were unable to save themselves from untimely death.[360] Yet somehow Martínez Compañón still allowed their cures to be included in the collection he compiled to be sent back to Spain. Why? One possible explanation is simple oversight. It is also possible that although Martínez Compañón was first and foremost a Bishop, in certain moments he acted with the detached observation of a natural historian, and included useful scientific descriptions even if they might have contradicted his beliefs.

In addition the herbal remedy for “sickness from fright,” Martínez Compañón’s collection discussed another type of specimen that likely would have been even greater anathema to extirpators and ecclesiastics alike. While coca chewing may have been only tacitly condemned, there is no way a Bishop would have allowed psychotropic drug use. But a careful examination of an image from volume six of the watercolors, labeled an “*omeco-machacuai*” snake, proves that in the watercolor images he may have overlooked it. This watercolor is found in the animal section of the nine volumes, but a

[360] “Igualmente es necesario que reconocais que esos vuestros Hechiceros, y Sabios son unos grandes embusteroz y mentirosos. Y si no lo reconoceis, prentadles por que son tan miserables, y pobres, que se muerieran de hambre si no fuera por lo que os hurtan y robran con sus enganos y trampas. Porque cuando enferman, no se sanan asi propios, y porque cuando los llama la muerte se entregan a ellas, y se dejan morir como los demas hombres, y muchas veces en la flor de su edad. Y preguntadles tambien como con una virtud como la que afectan, juntamente vicios como los que dentro de si suelen comunemente encerrar. Es deciros, preguntadles por que son tan ociosos, borrachos, lacivios, mentirosos, y abandonados a toda suerte de visios. Porque si la virtud es de Dios, no sufre juntarse con el vicio, y cuando lo uno y lo otro se juntasen en una hombre, ya seria virtud de Diablo nuestro Capital Enemigo. Ved mis amados hasta donde os precipita vuestra ignorancia a vuestras pasiones, pero ved al mismo tiempo el medio que en dichas casas se intenta prepara a vuestros hijos, para liventaros de ellas. En ellas es una palabra, que formarian hombres y Crisitanos, y se harian utiles para si, para sus mujeres, y familias cuando as tuviesen para sus padres y para sus pueblos.” “Martínez Compañón to Amados Hijos Mios, los Indios de Este Obispado de Trujillo.” Trujillo, 31 July, 1783. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y Universidades, Erección y Fundación de dos Colegios.

quick glance reveals that the leaf and tree in the image are equal in size to the snake, and the image content is also botanical. The illustration shows a large furry brown snake wrapped around a tree. It has two heads. A monkey seems to be putting something into the mouth of the top head; at the bottom one a goat appears to escape from the snake's lashing tongue. A cut-away view of one of the leaves highlights the patterns on the leaves of the tree around which the snake is wrapped. The thorns on the tree's trunk and the roots at its bottom are clearly visible. An individual stands next to it, drinking from a gourd and looking up at the entire panorama with an expression of wonder.

This is one of the most compelling and confusing watercolors of all of the nine volumes. First of all, although it is included with the snakes and animals, it might just as easily be placed in volume two, focusing on quotidian life, or in one of the three volumes with botanical illustrations. In fact, although it shows animals and people, this image seems to be largely botanical, as indicated by the large cutaway of the plant leaf, which seems to be intended as the prominent aspect of the illustration. What does this image represent? And if it is a botanical image, why did Martínez Compañón choose to conceal it among other images of common snakes?

Figure 4.9. Omeco-Machacuai snake accompanied by an ayahuasca plant.

An interpretation of this image begins with its name, which is clearly from the native Andean Quechua language. As it is a predominantly oral language with significant regional variations, orthography in Quechua remains unstandardized to this day. This means that c's and k's are interchangeable; as are u's and h's; and vowels can be reduced to u, a, and e sounds. Spanish or creole commentators from the viceregal period were quite liberal with their spellings of Quechua words, a fact that has caused no small degree of confusion. Thus, while all the snakes shown in this section of volume four are labeled as different species of "*machacuai*," a careful interpretation of the name of this image would explore the various meanings of different spellings. One such alternate spelling of *omeco* is "*umayku*," which sounds quite similar to "*omeco*" when verbalized, but actually means "my head." "*Machacuai*" is a personalized form of the verb "*machay*," or "to become inebriated." Therefore, the name of the snake may be interpreted as the "my head makes me inebriated"[361] snake. Although this is a strange name for a snake, it seems to make sense given how the man to the left of the snake is drinking something that causes him to hallucinate.

Figure 4.10. Ayahuasca leaf[362]

Another clue to the meaning of this image are the prominently displayed leaves of the tree. These bear resemblance to the leaves of the ayahuasca plant, fig 6.1which Peruvians of the Amazonian jungle use to produce

[361] However, assuming that in modern speech, the vowels in Quechua have almost no distinction, the first base word, "ome," could be "uma," which means "head." The "yku" suffix is the second-person possessive. Therefore, "omeco," which could be "umayku" in modern spelling, means "my head." The second base word, "machay," means "to get drunk or inebriated." The "–ku" suffix indicates doing an action to oneself. Therefore, if the "ai" on the end of the word written by Martínez Compañón would be the "ay" ending placed on the infinitive form of Quechua verbs, we would have "to make oneself drunk." Therefore, we arrive at "my head makes me drunk."

[362] Photo from www.amazonayahuasca.com

hallucinatory visions, much in the same way certain native groups of North America use peyote. Anthropologists have noted that *ayahuasca* visions are traditionally associated with snakes, and the snake is believed to be the mother spirit of the plant. During her field research in the Peruvian Amazon, medical anthropologist Marline Dobkin found that many of her informants had visions involving "jungle creatures such as boa constrictors and viperous snakes."[363] Anthropologist Angelika Gebhart-Sayer identified the two-headed serpent as an image common to ayahuasca use in the Peruvian Amazon.[364] Is it possible that the "omeco-machacuai" from the nine volumes is a similar vision of an Indian who has drunk ayahuasca? Perhaps the contradiction between official sanctions against *curanderos* and their practices and the Bishop's desire to provide as much information as possible as a natural historian led him to try to disguise the *ayahuasca* plant illustration by including it with those of the snakes. He must have hoped that the reader either would not notice how strange the *omeco* snake was, or else might simply believe that Peru was a strange and exotic land where two-headed snakes could be found deep in the Amazonian jungle.

What do these superstitious uses for plants reveal? They are a vital clue that indigenous informants participated the Bishop's natural history investigations, and that his botanical work built upon the bio-contact paradigm of the Hispanic tradition. There are other factors that indicate a high probability of indigenous informants as well. A significant percentage of the specimens illustrated and described are named in Quechua, not in Castilian.[365] Furthermore, the sheer number of plant specimens included in the collections (three hundred and seventy two) and the three volumes of botanical illustrations (four hundred and eighty-eight) indicates that it would have been impossible for a man as busy as Martínez Compañón to gather this information himself. Likewise it would have been difficult to pay the large team of trained botanists or assistants who could have gathered the specimens. At the very least, if the Bishop had

[363] Marlene Dobkin de Rios, *Visionary vine: hallucinogenic healing in the Peruvian Amazon*. (Illiois,1972), 118.
[364] Angelika Gebhart-Syaer. 1986. "Una terapia estética: Los diseños visionarios del ayahuasca entre los Shipibo-Conibo." *América Indígena*, 46 (1): 189-218.
[365] The exact figures here are also something that could be arrived at through a database, perhaps with the assistance of undergraduate or graduate research assistants.

employed professionals, presumably his records would mention them or discuss how they were paid for their services. Presumably, untrained, unpaid local informants assisted him. Presumably this meant a group of four or five individuals, as the different illustration styles suggest.[366]

Another clue to native or local participation in the project comes from recent work by Londa Schiebinger and Paula De Vos. Eighteenth-century botanical works from overseas kingdoms that featured smaller cures for aches and pains were often the product of collaboration with indigenous informants within a "bio-contact zone." DeVos argues that a focus on cures for small medical nuisances most likely suggests that whoever was collecting the information, was "tapping into a strong tradition of folk medicine specific to each area."[367] Indeed the collection inventory is full of suggestions for hair loss, indigestion, fevers, and gynecological problems. There are also other plant descriptions that suggest local or indigenous involvement through their specifically agricultural uses. The *alicuya* plant used to kill sheep's liver parasites, and the *hierba blanca* plant that guinea pigs should not consume both suggest the involvement of Indians, as it was traditionally natives who maintained herds of sheep, and many indigenous peoples of the Andes keep (and eat) guinea pigs to this day.

In conclusion, while in many ways these intimate connections to local and indigenous culture are what make the Bishop's botanical work so compelling to contemporary scholars, it is important to recall that these same characteristics may have spelled the demise of his work once it arrived in Madrid. Perhaps the Bishop's natural history met with the same fate as that of Francisco Hernández, who also worked closely with indigenous informants and then presented his finished product to the King, only to have him dismiss it as amateur or superstitious. It is possible that the nine volumes of *Trujillo del Perú* rested on a dusty back shelf of the royal library because they honored "inferior" local naming systems instead of the Linnaean one officially mandated by Spain's scientific establishment. It might be that the focus on common plant uses and

[366] Part of my postdoctoral manuscript revision plans include returning to Trujillo to see the notarial records from Martínez Compañón's time there in order to ascertain whether or not he paid anyone for creating the images.
[367] DeVos, "The Art of Pharmacy in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Mexico" , 361.

small cures did not suit the commercially oriented focus of crown-Sponsored botany in the age of Enlightenment. Also likely is that a careful examiner of the Bishop's nine volumes and realized that native plants used for abortions and idolatrous ceremonies had no place in the official record of Spanish natural history.

Although it was not immediately apparent, perhaps a particularly astute observer might have realized how Martínez Compañón's work championed the Indians of Trujillo by displaying their vast botanical knowledge, and by refusing to condemn their customs and traditions. It celebrated the riches of Peru, but did so in Castilian and Quechua -- not Latin. Instead of decrying indigenous systems of knowledge, as an ideal modern Enlightenment work would do, it readily employed the methodologies of various Renaissance historians who celebrated indigenous culture. In so doing, it highlighted the useful botanical resources of Peru, the wealth of knowledge on this topic possessed by indigenous peoples, and it built upon a uniquely Hispanic botanical tradition. Although the patriotic discourse of Martínez Compañón's botanical work is disguised beneath layers of separation, language, and cultural barriers and is thus difficult to recognize, a thorough analysis proves that ironically, the Bishop's work with plants revealed aspects of indigenous culture that the rest of his work disguised and downplayed. In many ways, botanical research proved to be the most radical aspect of the Bishop's work on Trujillo.

Chapter Five:

Imagining the Best of All Possible Worlds in Trujillo

If this is the best of all possible worlds, what are the others?
- Voltaire, *Candide,* 1759[368]

However comprehensive it was, Martínez Compañón's blueprint for Enlightenment in Trujillo was far from an anomaly in the eighteenth-century Atlantic. Its main components, political economy and botanical research were at the forefront of many reformers' minds. For instance, British bureaucrats believed botanical knowledge could foster agricultural development that would inevitably lead to increased production, population, and consumption.[369] Reformers in Germany and Austria advocated similar agendas.[370] In Sweden, Karl Linnaeus proposed a program of plant-based import substitution that would free Sweden from dependence upon exports and overhaul its faltering economy.[371] In France, legislators directly consulted with natural historians.[372] Likewise, Martínez Compañón's agenda demonstrates a similarly symbiotic relationship between political economy and natural history.

While Karl Linnaeus and Joseph Banks produced specific bodies of work that explained how natural history and political economy would come together to sustain their visions of improvement, Martínez Compañón's documentary legacy is much more scattered. Unlike Linnaeus, he did not produce twenty written works explaining how to

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[368] Francois-Marie Arouet Voltaire, *Candide* (The Literature Network, 1759 [cited); available from http://www.online-literature.com/voltaire/candide/.
[369] Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven, 2000).
[370] Henry E. Lowood, *Patriotism, Profit, and the Promotion of Science in the German Enlightenment. The Economic and Scientific Societies, 1760-1815.*, ed. Enno E. Kraehe, Modern European History: Germany and Austria (New York, 1991). Charles W. Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815.* (Cambridge, 1994).
[371] Lisbet Koerner, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation* (Cambridge, 1999).
[372] E.C. Spary, *Utopia's Garden. French Natural History from Old Regime to Revolution.* (Chicago, 2000).

implement his agenda.[373] Instead, students of the Bishop's science of empire are left to piece together a disparate set of sources. A set of political economy reform plans, a collection of natural and manmade specimens, and nine volumes of natural history watercolors unaccompanied by explanatory text do not readily reveal their secrets. While they answer many questions, they leave just as many issues unresolved. One of the most pressing of these is: how would this science of empire affect the everyday lives of the people of Trujillo?

Certain aspects of Martínez Compañón's personal correspondence, pastoral letters, and *visita* records suggest his understanding as to intentions for how the people of Trujillo would experience his reform agenda in their daily lives. A more exhaustive understanding necessitates turning away from written documents to consider the watercolor images of the nine volumes, especially those in volume two, which concentrates on the daily lives of the plebeian classes. These images elucidate how Martínez Compañón envisioned his science of empire. They show men and women working in fields, hunting animals, and weaving traditional textiles. Mineworkers toil, women tend to sheep, and children play by mimicking the work of adults. Individuals behave with the requisite propriety; dancing prettily to local music and quietly playing cards. During the annual carnival season, they don intricate costumes and perform traditional dances, many of which originate in Spain.

To some degree these watercolors correspond to the growing interest in the eighteenth century "customs and manners" genre. But the watercolors of volume two do more than describe typical dress, ceremony, and costume. They evince an unexpected emphasis on sociability, industry, and hard work. They exhibit what Susan Deans-Smith has called a typical Bourbon "emphasis on orderly, productive subjects"[374] whose productions and consumptions can sustain an empire, a colony, or a province.

Trujillo del Perú is not unique in such an idealized vision. Artists throughout the wider Atlantic world depicted the plebe as simple but hardworking, poor but productive.

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[373] Koerner lists Linnaeus' published manuscripts on page 213 of her book.
[374] Susan Deans-Smith, "Creating the Colonial Subject: Casta Paintings, Collectors, and Critics in Eighteenth-Century Mexico and Spain," *Colonial Latin American Review* 14 (December, 2005), 173.

They retooled the popular images of the common people so as to better align them with Enlightenment notions of utility and industry. In France, Claude Joseph Vernet's images of ports showed workers who were busy "creating the nation's wealth."[375] In Spain, Charles IV ordered Luis Paret y Alcázar to create a similar series for the ports of Cantabria. Jutta Held has argued that these works demonstrate how in the Age of Enlightenment, "the court no longer envisaged the people as burlesque, as a social stratum whose customs completely separated them from the court aristocracy."[376]

Likewise, the images of daily life Martínez Compañón selected for *Trujillo del Perú* portray the locals as an idealized plebeian class. In so doing, they create a sort of "visual propaganda"[377] highlighting the area's potential to revitalize its own economy through agriculture and industry. The people of Trujillo are happy, prosperous, and obedient. It is a province that would make any Bourbon prelate or reformer - or any Bourbon king - proud. These people are actively acting out the utopian society Martínez Compañón sought to create in Trujillo. They represent a modest yet mannered agrarian society, where most people farm and hunt, and some work in other industries. The plebeians upon whose backs Trujillo will be rebuilt have been taught and obey the Hispanic norms, manners, and traditions appropriate to their social status. Through their work and their acceptance as Spanish subjects, they have become ideal vassals of the Spanish king. These model subjects show the vast potential of Martínez Compañón's blueprint of improvement for Trujillo.

Pastoral Images of Trujillo

As it was for so many enlightened reformers, agriculture was the key component of Martínez Compañón's vision for improved plebeian life in Trujillo. To that end, when his *visita* came to an end in the Chicama Valley town of Santiago de Cao on March 7, 1785, his mandates for parish priests provided detailed suggestions for supporting agriculture.

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[375] Jutta Held, "Goya's Festivals, Old Women, Monsters, and Blind Men," *History Workshop* (1987), 41.
[376] Ibid., 41.
[377] I have borrowed this term from Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting - Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, 2004), 1.

Priests and their assistants, he explained, should work to foster community interest in agriculture through regularly speaking "to the people lovingly about their land, and its good and bad qualities." They should advise on how to best cultivate crops in the local environment, instructing the people "which seed would be most suited to each one of their fields," and informing them "how these should be dispersed according to…[the land's] fertility." The priests were also to share information on how to combat harmful pests, how to prevent birds from ruining their fields, how to irrigate, and how to store harvested grain.[378]

While such deep involvement of local church officials with matters of farming may seem surprising, agricultural improvement was in fact a dominant concern of the eighteenth-century culture of improvement. Benito Feijóo claimed that it was the highest art, because "it is the only art which had its origin in Man's first state of Innocence; other arts arose after the world had been polluted by sin… men were the inventors of all other arts; God himself instituted Agriculture."[379] In his *Informe Sobre la Ley Agraria* (Report on Agrarian Law), Gaspar Jovellanos argued that agriculture was the kingdom's "prime source of wealth, given that population and riches, the main supports of national power, depend more immediately upon it than on any of the other lucrative professions." He also argued that agriculture was the most efficacious method to promote population growth and to improve quality of life. He recommended that the state produce and offer chapbooks explaining the basics of agricultural processes, and that these be made available to those who wished to read them.[380] Likewise, Jose Campillo's *Nuevo Sistema de Gobierno Economico* seriously considered the importance of agriculture in reviving the economies of Spain and Spanish America. He recommended that agricultural reformers in Spanish America target the indigenous population through teaching them how to market and sell products they already used in their own communities, and how to

[378] "Disposiciones sobre el culto Católico para las distintas parroquías de su diócesis, dictadas por el Excelentisimo Baltasar Jaíme Martínez Compañón," Bogotá: Archivo General de Nación, Virreyes 10, Document 15, 525-594.
[379] Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro, *The honour and advantage of agriculture. Being the twelfth discourse of the eighth volume of Feijoo's works, translated from the Spanish by a farmer in Cheshire* (London, 1760), 5.
[380] Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas/Informe sobre la Ley Agraria*, ed. Gullermo Carnero (Madrid, 1998), 379.

identify local substitutes for valuable agricultural commodities like chocolate.[381] All of these reformers recognized that agricultural production was the basis on which the peoples and economy of America could flourish, and that this wealth would help engender prosperity in other economic sectors.

Naturally, the Hispanic reformers were not the only eighteenth-century improvers who stressed agricultural production. Throughout the Atlantic world, governments recognized that agriculture remained the key sector of European economies. In Germany improvement societies sponsored experiments, offered rewards, published manuals, and distributed seeds. Captivated with all things bucolic, the upper classes purchased paintings and read poetry that idealized the pastoral life.[382] Thomas Jefferson in the new United States wrote to John Jay that "cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interests by the most lasting bonds."[383] Even Adam Smith and Edward Gibbon argued that reforms in agriculture would establish independent landowners who could civilize the wild countryside and subdue the unruly populace.[384]

One key element shared by these diverse proposals was that all of them would have been utterly impossible without the compliance of the laboring classes. As the workers who would plant, cultivate, and harvest these products, the rural population was essential to the success of agricultural reform. Therefore, an endless stream of reformers, philosophers, and administrators produced pamphlets, wrote speeches, and passed legislation to convince or coerce them to participate. At the same time, literary and artistic culture promoted a similar discourse of incorporating the plebe into the

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[381] Joseph del Campillo y Cosio, *Nuevo Sistema de gobierno economico para la America* (Merida, Venezuela, 1971).
[382] Lowood, *Patriotism, Profit, and the Promotion of Science in the German Enlightenment. The Economic and Scientific Societies, 1760-1815,* 133.
[383] Thomas Jefferson to John Jay, 1785. Volume 5:94, Papers 8:426. Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Ten Volumes vols. (New York, 1892-1899).
[384] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World. London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 296. My manuscript revisions on this chapter will include working with contemporary agricultural improvement tracts from throughout the Atlantic world.

agricultural utopias of the Enlightenment. Peasants became essential aspects of prosperity and progress. As such, they could no longer be mocked or demonized in popular visual culture.[385] Liana Vardi's work with European harvest paintings stresses how the eighteenth-century peasant was most often depicted as "the foundation of the state," a sentimental figure who represented a willing populace of "virtuous and innocent creatures" who could easily be transformed into the orderly, industrious workers that were essential to the modern state.[386]

In his work on eighteenth-century British landscape paintings, Jonathan Barrell reaches similar conclusions. He argues that the men and women in these images work diligently and cheerfully. When artists depicted peasants transporting harvested wheat or gathering firewood, the ruling classes were meant to see cheerful, but not exuberant, faces of workers. Barrell argues that this glossing over of a life of backbreaking work was intended to "reassure the rich that whatever responsibility they might feel to relieve the condition of the deserving poor, they were in no way responsible for causing it."[387] At the same time, the poor themselves, were they ever to chance upon such images, should have

Figure 5.1. Indians Reaping *in Minga.*

[385] Held, "Goya's Festivals, Old Women, Monsters, and Blind Men."
[386] Linda Vardi, "Imagining the Harvest in Early Modern Europe," *American HIstorical Review* 11 (1996), 139.
[387] John Barrell, *The dark side of the landscape - The rural poor in English painting 1730-1840* (Cambridge, 1980), 85.

viewed them as prescriptive exemplars of diligence, industry, and good cheer.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the agricultural and pastoral images in volume two of *Trujillo del Perú*. In general, they depict agriculture, animal husbandry, and hunting as peaceful and congenial activities. The images of agriculture are particularly linked to eighteenth-century images of idealized, hardworking subjects. For instance, agriculture is not a singular pursuit -- farmers plow with the help of teams of oxen. Groups of men work together, and sometimes children assist them. On several occasions, the family dog accompanies them to the fields. The image that most clearly demonstrates the importance of group labor in the Trujillo areas is figure 5.1, which shows "Indians reaping in *minga*." Minga work in small indigenous communities or ayllu was a traditional way to sustain isolated communities in harsh environments. The Inca capitalized upon the minga system when creating the shared labor requirements for their empire. When the Spanish arrived in the Andes, they found the system easily translated to forcing Indians to labor on haciendas, in *obrajes*, or in mines.[388]

Yet, Martínez Compañón's depiction of the *minga* suggests no such forced labor. The men appear to be working hard but the cooking fire, jugs for water and food, and seated man playing an instrument in the background all suggest that reaping was in fact a joyful time.

Figure 5.2. Threshing Wheat.

[388] On the *minga*, see Dario Guevara, *Las mingas en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1960).

These are indeed the hardworking, cheerful peasants that eighteenth-century reformers and popular artists sought to create and promote.

After the harvest, the wheat had to be threshed, as depicted in this image, figure 5.2, "Threshing wheat." At first glance, this watercolor might seems to portray the rounding up of wild horses. Closer inspection shows the horses are standing upon the stalks of wheat, which presumably have come from the recently harvested fields in the background of the image. The men have used the pitchfork and shovel in the foreground to pitch the stalks into the circular area, which they enclose by standing in a circle around the horses while holding a long bolt of cloth. The figure in the middle of the circle that stands near the horses is therefore essential. He holds in his hand a whip with which he urges the white horse on the far right to turn and run. The closest horses are beginning to turn towards the left. Eventually all of them will run in a circle and their feet will thresh the wheat, thus making a laborious task much easier for the men.

When compared to the mechanical threshing that would appear in the North American breadbasket region one hundred years later, this system of threshing appears rather crude.[389] However, in the eighteenth century, using horses for threshing was considered innovative.[390] For instance, in 1792, George Washington began to build a sixteen-sided barn at Mount Vernon that utilized a similar idea. Washington's barn had a special threshing lane with one and a half inch gaps built into the floorboards. When whole wheat was placed upon this floor and horses were forced to run along the track, the grain would fall through the gaps into a lower floor, where it could then be collected.[391] While the many–sided barn outside of Washington was not even built at the time the watercolor was painted, the links between the Trujillo and Mount Vernon threshing methods are significant. They demonstrate the adaptability and ingenuity of the Trujillo farmers, who were unable to build a special structure for threshing wheat, yet

[389] "Wheat History," Online Exhibit of the Kansas State Historical Society, http://www.kshs.org/exhibits/wheat/wheat1.htm

[390] "Sixteen-Sided Barn," George Washington's Mount Vernon Estate & Gardens, http://www.mountvernon.org/learn/explore_mv/index.cfm/sss/76/. A task of post-doctoral research will be to gain a more thorough understanding of eighteenth-century agricultural manuals and how typical the Trujillo technique was.

still managed to improvise a more efficient method, one not much different from an invention one of the greatest heroes of the early United States would soon envision.

The watercolors celebrate the industriousness of Trujillo's plebe through depicting entire families working together. In the image of an "Indian Planting," 5.3, two men together work in a field. One guides the plow that is pulled by two oxen, and the other follows him, dipping into his basket of seeds that he then spreads on the earth. A little boy stands in front of the oxen, presumably to guide them. In the foreground of the image, a woman in a simple black skirt and red shawl kneels in front of a cooking pot placed on top of a campfire. She holds a spoon in her hand. She is contributing to her family's work, and she is doing so in a demure and appropriate manner that does not challenge traditional gender roles of the late-eighteenth century.

Figure 5.3. Indian Planting

Her role as the provider of food stands in stark contrast to that of the two women shown in Figure 5.4, “Indians weeding and planting.”[392] This image shows two men and two women working alongside one another at the same tasks. The women are not relegated to traditionally domestic duties. Instead, they participate as equals.

Figure 5.4. Indians Weeding and Planting.

Figure 5.5. The Same Indians Eating.

After they complete their tasks, the same individuals in image 5.5 enjoy a well-deserved rest and snack, as seen in the subsequent image, “The Same Indians Eating.” They share a simple picnic lunch that is spread out on a blanket in the grass in front of them.

[392] “Aporcar” appears to have no easy English equivalent. A Spanish gardening dictionary defines it as “en jardinería, amontonar tierra alrededor de la base del tallo de una planta,” or “cubrir con tierra ciertas hortalizas para que se pongan más tiernas y blancas al no recibir la luz.” http://www.infojardin.com/

As they take their repose, they lay their tools to rest nearby. Like the subjects of the eighteenth-century British agricultural images studied by Jonathan Barrell, these peasants work hard, but not so hard that they have no time for rest. The fact that they have a moment to enjoy and nourish themselves suggests their work is reasonably successful, their cultivation will likely produce abundance. Even in their leisure, they cannot escape their roles as laborers. They eat next to their work, seated close to the tools they need to perform it. Like the British agricultural paintings, then, these images "prescribe the terms on which [the peasants] may relax"[393] – *after* they have completed their tasks.

Figure 5.6 Female Indians Milking Cows.

Just like the agricultural images, the ten depictions of animal husbandry in Trujillo also depict a hardworking, industrious populace who cultivates and cares for an abundant nature. In one group of watercolors, horses and cattle populate the landscape, running wild yet readily available to the people who simply round them up. Once surrounded and captured, the workers bring them to farmhouses where they are branded and shod. These images suggest not only that the workers are able to properly maintain the animals, but also that those who possess them understand and partake in European traditions of ownership of animals – a key component of fostering a modern and profitable society in Trujillo.

[393] Barrell, *The dark side of the landscape - The rural poor in English painting 1730-1840*, 21.

The watercolors also represent more traditional, pastoral scenes of animal husbandry, such as figure 5.6, “Female Indians Milking Cows.” The woman in the foreground kneels, displaying the freshly collected milk. The woman behind her gently milks the cow, while a calf approaches from the other side to drink from her udder. The cow thus feeds the people who care for her and the baby she nourishes. In the background, other cows watch peacefully, and two calves rest in an enclosure that keeps them safe. This is an image of abundance, generosity and harmony. Its theme of reproduction continues in the subsequent watercolor, “Indians making cheeses,” which shows the transformation of the milk into a food product that can then be eaten at home or sold at the local market.

The final theme in the animal husbandry images is shepherding, an occupation that is well suited to the rugged mountain terrain of the Andean sierra. This pair of watercolors makes subtle commentary on gender and industriousness.

Figure 5.7. Indian Shepherd.

Figure 5.8. Indian Shepherdess Near her Hut.

The young man in figure 5.7 appears to have fallen asleep on the job. With his blanket spread out beneath him, he lies in comfortable repose. His female counterpart shown in the subsequent image, “Indian Shepherd Near her Hut” is a much more diligent caretaker. She is standing, not sitting. Instead of sleeping, she spins thread. A small boy, presumably her child who resides with her in the simple thatch hut, accompanies her. Even her dogs seem more alert – instead of lying on the ground and chewing on a stick, one looks at her with rapt attention, while the other playfully nuzzles under her skirt. She looks down at it with a slightly amused, benevolent expression.

This shepherdess models an ideal female work ethic. She multitasks through watching the sheep, caring for her child, and weaving all at the same time. However, her quiet industriousness cannot begin to compare to the dedication in work exhibited by the woman in the next image, “Shepherdess Indian Woman Giving Birth,” figure 5.9. The woman shown in this image is so devoted to caring for her flock that she gives birth alone, with no midwife or human assistance. She does not return to her simple hut (visible in the distance.) Although she seems to have let her sheep wander a bit farther than the shepherdess in the previous image, she too is spinning thread. This woman is so dedicated to her task that she will not leave the sheep even for one of the most momentous events in her life.

Figure 5.9. Shepherdess Indian Giving Birth.

What else might the image of the shepherdess giving birth reveal about gender roles and women's work in Trujillo? Recent anthropological investigations in the highland areas outside of Lima explain the indigenous myth of a "fecund earth mother" whose fertility and childbirth "is symbolically linked to the fertility of the agricultural fields." Furthermore, Susan Borque and Kay Warren found that this story typically centers on the idea of "the peasant earth mother," who "welcomes pregnancy, gives birth in the fields, and returns to her agricultural labors after only a brief rest."[394] While this research is contemporary, its links to the image suggest that Martínez Compañón sought to promote the same archetype in the late eighteenth century.

A final series of pastoral watercolors in *Trujillo del Perú* focus on hunting. These thirteen images demonstrate the ingenuity of the people of Trujillo in capitalizing upon the abundant nature available to them. The men and women in the images hunt *vicuñas*, rabbits, deer, mountain lions, bears, birds, and hogs. They seek the animals for a variety of reasons. In one image, they catch deer in a vicious-looking trap that keeps them from eating a local garden. In others, mountain lions seem to be hunted for sport, as a group with dogs and horses with fancy tack pursue them.

However, not all hunting in Trujillo is for sport – it too, is utilitarian. The images of the pursuit of a bear, however, suggest that bears must be eliminated in order to keep people safe. In figure 5.10, "Bear Hunt," a local man kills the pursued bear in order to eradicate the danger it poses. Presumably it has threatened the nearby town and the domestic animals on the left side of the image. The hunter and his dog have chased it up the mountain outside of town, past where the townspeople have erected a cross at the peak. It seems that the hunter then used his lance to force the bear off the mountain. The animal plummets through the air, twisting before it meets its watery death in the river below. This image is not only indicative of the townspeople's ability to defend themselves and their property against predators, it also indicates the victory of the Catholic, civilized town over the wild, menacing bear.

[394] Kay Barbara Warren Susan C. Bourque, *Women of the Andes - Patriarchy and Social Change in Two Peruvian Towns* (Ann Arbor, 1981), 88.

Figure 5.10. Bear Hunt.

The hunting series also includes four images of the Indians of the Amazonian town Motilones de Lamas, outside of Moyobamba. In the first image, “Motilones de Lamas When They Go Hunting,” two men and a woman are departing for a hunting session. The man in the middle holds a knife in his right hand. Held in his left hand and slung over his shoulder is some sort of long wooden instrument. He also carries a type of basket slung over his back, likely for holding their prey. His partner carries similar tools.

Figure 5.11. Motilones de Lamas When they Go Hunting.

Figure 5.12. The Same Indians Hunting Birds.

In the two subsequent watercolors, the Indians use these strange instrument. “The Same Indians Hunting Birds” shows how the long wooden poles house some sort of darts that are dislodged when the hunter blows air into the tube. Although the instrument is not named in this image, a close reading of the collection inventory reveals more about it. Martínez Compañón identifies this piece as a “*cerbetana*.” It is used to hunt birds and other animals. It was typically three yards long, and had attached to it a sort of holder, “which the Indians call a *cagasco*.” The cagasco houses the “*virotes*,” or poison darts that the Indians used with the *cerbetana*.[395] This blowgun is without a doubt what is pictured in these watercolors. The inventory data and the images, then, show that the Indians of this distant jungle region maintain strange customs that sound like the stuff of fantastical travel accounts. Yet, the scientific language of the description of the *cerbetana* does not suggest the Indians used these instruments only for barbaric purposes.

Depicting Industry and Authority

Trujillo del Peru’s portrayal of the populace as hardworking farmers, shepherds, and hunters is not unexpected. When working in fields and hunting animals, the common people of Northern Peru remained in the country, which is just where many Hispanic elites envisioned them. They fit neatly with the Bourbon equation for progress, in which Spanish America would produce raw materials and agricultural products, and in return purchase manufactured goods made in or traded through Spain. In such an equation, the people were to be decidedly dedicated to extractive pursuits, farming and mining foremost among them.

In order to truly implement progress and reform in Trujillo, Martínez Compañón needed to go beyond this pastoral view of life in Peru. Development also necessitated cities or towns with small-scale commerce and industry. This is why the Bishop suggested the numerous trades for students in the Indian schools, and why he wanted

[395] "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa.," Sevilla: Archivo General de las Indias, Lima 798, Box 7, item 10.

girls to become familiar with the use of spinning wheels. For the same reason, he promoted the establishment of regional markets where individuals could socialize and trade, and he searched for natural products like dyestuffs that could bring money in a larger market. This was how he envisioned a small-scale proto-industrial economy in Trujillo.

In this the Bishop was not unique. Others recognized the importance of fostering industry and commerce in more provincial areas. José Campomanes stressed how limited industry could develop among Spanish American women, who were well prepared to sew, knit, embroider, make jewelry, or paint fans.[396] These were simple manufactures, "suited to women," which had the added benefit of not "distracting any man from the fields or from the other important positions that require strength and resistance."[397]

While the representatives of the eighteenth-century culture of improvement imagined how to foster commerce and industry,[398] their counterparts in visual culture began producing series of images that spoke to similar sentiments. A well-known genre depicting commerce and urban life in early modern Europe are known as "cries." These are typically images of a single individual accompanied by the goods he or she sells. Beneath the image lie the words the hawker cries out when walking the streets and offering their goods; hence, the name "cries." The first known series of cries were produced in Paris around 1500 in woodcut engravings, but the genre soon became an Atlantic world staple and was produced also in Nuremberg, Vienna, London, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Madrid. Although the early subjects of cries were often portrayed as rowdy, unpredictable street folk, by the eighteenth century itinerant

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[396] Pedro R. de Campomanes, *Discurso sobre la educación popular*, ed. F. Augilar Piñal, Biblioteca de la literatura y el pensamiento hispanicos (Madrid, 1978), 216.

[397] Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular (Antonio Sancha, 1774, book two [cited); available from ttp://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/02461674212913274754491/p0000001.htm#I_4_.

[398] Another task of revisions is to find Atlantic comparisons of promoting local industry and commerce.

salespeople were transformed into essential figures of metropolitan life.[399] The goods and wares they brought to the urban environment signified the increasingly cosmopolitan street life of Atlantic cities in the late-eighteenth century.

David Shesgreen's work on British "cries" shows that street hawkers in London carried oranges, artichokes, figs, and lettuce – items that were available only at a dear price in the seventeenth century. They proffered goods that were imported from Spain, Greece, and even India. Luxuries like cut flowers and jewelry were for sale. Also available were cheap manufactures for household use, like drinking glasses and footstools. In these images, the plebe had become transporters and conveyers of a newly cosmopolitan city in which an easy transfer of goods was changing the face of urban life.

In the Spanish kingdoms, the most well known of these images were the *Trajes de España* created by Juan Cruz Cano between 1777 and 1778.[400] These engravings depicted regional types, such as a dancing couple from Manchego, or a slave woman from San Juan. But more importantly for our purposes, the "Trajes" images celebrated local industry and commerce by including portraits of various street-sellers offering everything from oranges and sausages to coal. The coal-seller cried of his wares "*where, to whose garret?"*
Some offered services; including dog catching (specializing in "damned English dogs");[401] gardening; and tiling.

Located in a more distant corner of the Atlantic world, Trujillo's commodities were much more modest. A woman carries bananas on the back of her mule, and Indian men from Lamas and Hibitos y Cholones carry wood on their backs. This wood is suggestive

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[399] Sean Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast. The Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (New Brunswick, 2002).
[400] On the "trajes," see Fernando Checa Cremades and Valeriana Bozal Juan Carrete Parrondo, *El Grabado En España (Siglos XV al XVIII)*, vol. XXXI, Historia General del Arte (Madrid, 2001). Also see Juan de la Cruz Cano y Holmedilla, *Coleccion de trajes de España. Tanto antiguos como modernos.* (Madrid, 1988), Juan Carrete Parrondo, *El Grabado En España (Siglos XV al XVIII)*, E. Ed Correa Calderon, *Costumbristas espanoles* (1964).
[401] See the virtual exposition of the Fundación Museo de las Ferias y Obra Social de Caja España, http://www.cajaespana.es/obs/visitas_virtuales/sala2.htm

of the importance of wood resources to Trujillo's economy: Martínez Compañón's collection inventory states he included 47 samples of different types of woods with the items he sent to Spain. But for the most part, in the realm of commerce the people of Trujillo seem to be more adept at producing the goods than at selling them – this commerce was, of course, the province of the Mother country. While only a few images show the Trujillans carrying their own items to then sell, a number of images focus on their production of goods and products, especially in the area of textiles. Twenty images from *Trujillo del Perú* inform the viewer about the process of creating textiles in Peru, from the beginning of the process to the final touches. The series begins with the shearing of sheep. The wool is then washed, dyed, carded, and spun into thread. This thread is woven into cloth, pressed, and again dyed. Some of this is done by hand with simple implements, other processes are completed with complex machines, such as the traditional indigenous looms run with foot pedals as seen in figure 5.13.

Figure 5.13 Indian Weaving.

A noteworthy characteristic of the textile images is how they stress the importance of women's work. Women appear in twelve of the twenty images in this group. They work alone, with their families, and in pairs. They participate in the less skilled aspects of cloth production, such as separating and dyeing wool. Their roles in the more intricate processes also reveal that their textile work was important both to maintaining their household economies and to sustaining local cultural traditions. For the most part, those partaking in the creation of fabric seem to work happily and harmoniously, such as in figure 5.14, where a group of mestizas works together to embroider an intricate tablecloth.

One image, however, suggests another side of Trujillo's textile industry. Figure 5.15 shows three men spinning thread with wheels. However, one man in the image does not work. Instead, he lazily rests on one elbow while pointing his index finger at his workers, as if to remind them to spin as fast as possible. He is heavier and taller than the workers, and has more facial hair than they do; indicators that he is creole, while the smaller workers are indigenous. His left hand holds a stick or switch that can ensure the rapid results he seeks.

Figure 5.14. Mestizas from Chachapoyas sewing rengos. Perhaps this is the same rengo fabric that Martínez Compañón included in his collection, mentioning that women wore it like a shawl, and it typically sold for 40 pesos.[402]

[402] "Expediente sobre la remisión de 24 cajones de curiosidades de la naturaleza y del arte, recognidos por el Obispo de Trujillo (hoy Arzobispo de Santa Fé) y remitidas por el Virrey de Lima, venidas en la Fragata Rosa."

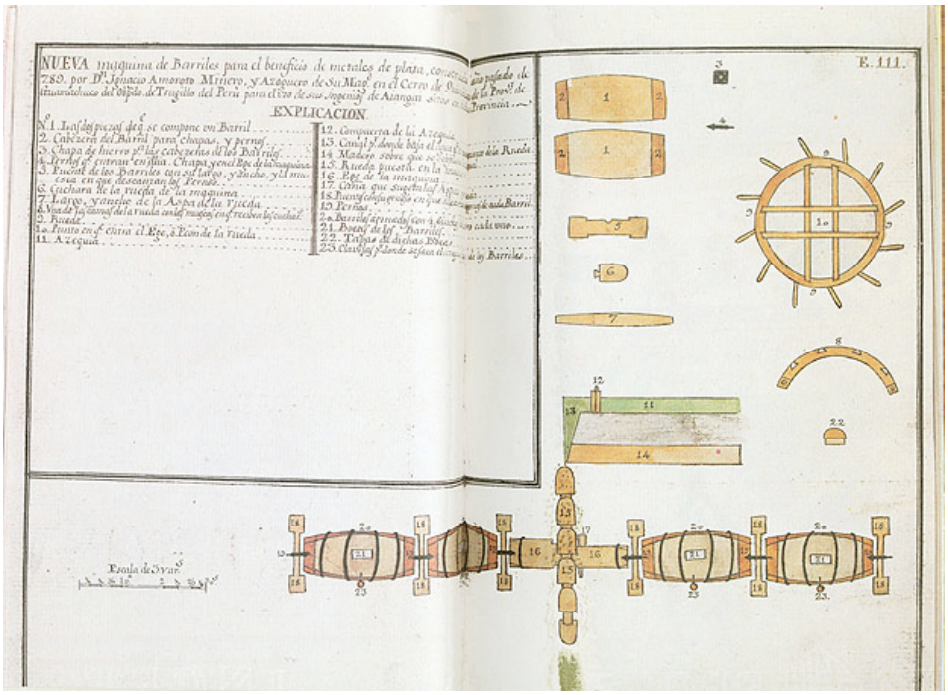
Although the faces of the workers display the same demure smiles of most of the people in *Trujillo del Perú*, their postures convey a sense of nervousness or hurry.

Figure 5.15. Indians Spinning with Wheels.

The man on the right looks up as if to check on his supervisor's satisfaction with their work. It is possible that this image was meant to be a subtle commentary on the undesired effects of fostering a fast-growing textile industry in Trujillo.[403]

After the textile group of images, Volume two contains seven images related to Trujillo's mining industry, several of which have already been discussed in chapter three. However, also important among this group are the images of technological instruments. However, one machine, called a "new machine of barrels for the separation of metals from silver," appears only in its design stages. The reader learns that a royal miner and mercury importer named Don Ignacio Amoroto designed this machine in 1789. The image description offers no further information about whether it was built. Where did the plan come from? Perhaps Martínez Compañón received the drawing after his call for a competition for mining innovations.

Figure 5.16. New machine of barrels for separating metals from silver…



[403] In revisions, I will also work with Martínez Compañón's instructions for cultivating flax in Trujillo (Virreyes 17, page 76) and compare this with Campomanes' *Industria Popular*, which also discusses building a flax industry in America.

In addition to textiles and mining, what were other key industries that the Bishop sought to promote in Trujillo? A quick revision of Martínez Compañón's political economy agenda reminds us of the importance of the building industry. His new churches, schoolhouses, cabildo buildings, and cemeteries all needed builders, masons, carpenters, and artisans. Where are these individuals in volume two? There is no obvious section depicting their occupations. But a closer look reveals references to the building trades where we would least expect it.

Figure 5.17. "Sambo."

At first glance, this image appears to be a simple casta-painting typography. The man wears a long Spanish-style coat, white stockings, a lacy shirt, and shoes with buckles. His indigenous-looking hat likely signifies the native part of his background. However, unlike his fellow types, the sambo does not appear alone on the page. He stands near a neo-classical building, with a church behind him. This background makes provocative suggestions about the lives of free people of African descent in late eighteenth-century Northern Peru. The 2200 free blacks who lived in Trujillo during Martínez Compañón's tenure there[404] specialized in manual trades such as carpentry, masonry, metalworking, and painting.[405] They formed their own trade guilds and frequently collaborated with the Bishop or other officials on various city projects.[406] Martínez Compañón sought to contract the services of Thomas Rodríguez, a pardo who had achieved the title of Master Architect, in re-building the Ferreñafe church.[407] Perhaps it is he who is depicted in this image. Unfortunately, with no identifying information other than the title of "sambo," it is difficult to know for sure. What is clear is that this individual is exceptional among the Afro-Peruvians in volume two, as the majority are depicted slaves with no specialized work skills. By highlighting this individual as someone likely involved in the specialized building trade, Martínez Compañón chooses to include him as an active participant in the society of productive work he sought so hard to create in Trujillo.

Portraying an idyllic agricultural society and an industrious urban life were key agendas of the nine volumes of *Trujillo del Perú* because they situated the people, resources, and landscape of the area as the ideal Bourbon colony. But in order to complete the image of an ideal Bourbon populace, the people must be orderly, law-abiding, and respectful of authority figures. To that end, volume two opens with ten

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[404] This figure is from the population statistics Martínez Compañón included in the charts in Volume 1 of *Trujillo del Perú.*

[405] Ricardo Morales, "Los Pardos Libres en el arte virreinal de Trujillo del Perú (siglos XVIII y XIX)," in *A propósito de Raúl Porras Barrenechea. Viejos y nuevos temas de cultura Andina.*, ed. Antonio Garrido Aranda (Cordoba, 2001).

[406] Ricardo Morales, "Arquitectura virreynal - Don Evaristo, un alarife negro en Trujillo," *Arkinka* 11 (1996).

[407] Martínez Compañón, "Autos de Visita.[a] Ferreñafe, 24 Nov 1783," 1783. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Visitas.

images depicting types of Spanish men and women, individuals who stand for decorum, wealth, and sociability. They are identified simply as a "Spaniard with cape," or a "Spaniard in military dress." Their clothes of the Spanish appear to be finely made, and their interiors have tiled floors and curtained windows. Most indicative of their superior economic means are their leather shoes with buckles – many of the poorer sorts shown in *Trujillo del Perú* have no shoes whatsoever. The Spanish men also wear the powdered white wigs of the "bagwig" style that Michael Kwass recently identified as the most common and least expensive style of wig in the late-eighteenth century Atlantic world.[408]

Figures 5.18 and 5.19 are two Spanish "types" of Trujillo presented in the beginning of Volume 2. The man on the left is identified as a "Spaniard in military dress." The figure on the right side is a "Spaniard Woman with Shawl." In popular parlance, she would have been known as a "*tapada*," or covered woman.

[408] Michael Kwass, "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France," *American Historical Review* 111 (June, 2006).

These were an easy way to distinguish themselves as social superiors. Their female counterparts wear elaborate dresses with multiple layers of petticoats, aprons, vests, belts, and shawls. One woman is a *tapada*, covered entirely with only one eye peeking from beneath the folds of black cloth. According to Deborah Poole, *tapadas* were known in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as "coquettish" and "of a recognizably European, rather than Inca or 'Indian' extraction."[409]

Why were the Spanish types chosen for the beginning of the volume? Opening a collection of local images with such a series of European elites is not unusual in Hispanic visual culture: In her research on casta paintings, Ilona Katzew also found that Spanish men were almost always represented first in a series, and they were typically portrayed as "the professor of culture, sitting next to…writing implements,"[410] or as engaging in the leisure activities that their status and wealth allow them to enjoy. Indeed, The next seven images depict what seem to be some common activities of the Spaniards of Trujillo. Two Spanish ladies ride in a horse drawn carriage driven by a black servant, while another pair of Spanish women travel in an enclosed litter. One man even naps in a hammock hung the doorway of a house with imposing columns and a fancy tiled floor. Clearly, although the Spaniards of represent the finer side of life in Trujillo, they are not shown as workers integral to the economy. Instead, they are separate from the orderly, productive culture Martínez Compañón's reforms sought to cultivate in Trujillo. Their presence oversees and directs that culture of work.

The Spaniards, however, lived mainly in the larger cities and towns, especially in Trujillo city. How then was authority represented in the numerous Indian towns in rural areas? The volume depicts two Indian mayors, one representative of valley towns, and a second representative of mountain towns, figures 5.20 and 5.21.

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[409] Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, 1997), 85.
[410] Katzew, *Casta Painting - Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico,* 114.

Figure 5.20. Indian Mayor of a Valley Town.

Figure 5.21. Indian Mayor of a Sierra Town.

Both men stand in similar poses, with the traditional Hispanic staff of office, often known as a *vara* or *bastón* in their right hands. This signified their power as the highest local representatives of the Spanish crown. It was also an expensive gift intended to incur their support for royal policies.[411] Each has a hat, although the valley Indian wears his, while the mountain Indian holds his in his hand, perhaps because the building he is about to enter is a church, signified by the bell tower on top of it. The valley Indian appears to be much more affluent, he wears a fine lace shirt, tailored coat and pants, stockings, a cape, and leather shoes with buckles. In contrast, the Sierra mayor is barefoot, without stockings. He wears simpler clothes – there are no buttons on his plants, his coat has a plain slit pocket instead of a flap. Rather than a cape, he wears a traditional woven shawl thrown over his shoulder.

[411] For more on bastones, medals, and other Spanish gifts to Indians, see "Trading, Gifting, and Treating," in David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, 2005).

These men were clear symbols of how Spanish authority had implicated itself onto local systems of power. Or might they represent a more complex notion of authority? While the *bastón* was a traditional Spanish implement of conquest, typically given to signify power and hopefully to produce loyalty among native populations,[412] anthropological research shows that pre-Hispanic Andeans also held staffs as symbols of

political power. In fact, according to Frank Salomon, "engraved staffs of authority rank among the most deep-rooted of Andean symbols."[413] Office holders known as "varayuq," or staff-holders managed pre-Hispanic communities. The Spanish simply Hispanicized this term to "*varayos*," and in the Andes adopted the Quechua word "*vara*" instead of the traditional Spanish "*bastón*."[414]

Figure 5.22. Hispanicized Indians in Huayrona reciting Christian Doctrine. Or are they?

A further clue about the meaning of the images lies in the subsequent series. In figures 5. 21 and 5. 22 men and women pray together in what looks to be an informal church service conducted

[412] Ibid.
[413] Frank Salomon, "How an Andean Writing Without Words Works." *Current Anthropology* 42:1, 3.
[414] Frank Salomon, *The Cord Keepers. Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village.* (Durham, 2004), 78.

without a priest or any religious implements other than a simple cross. The title reads "*Cholos en Huairona rezando Doctrina Christiana,"* which translates to "Hispanicized Indians in Huairona reciting Christian Doctrine." The female image is similar, showing several women kneeling on the ground in front of another woman who kneels and holds a simple cross, while some sort of official, also with a cane or *vara*, stands behind her.

5.22 Hispanicized Indian women in Huayrona reciting Christian doctrine.

It seems logical that the first glimpse of Indian town life Martínez Compañón provided was some sort of religious ceremony. However, closer investigation gives rise to several key questions. First, the town of Huayrona is not mentioned in any of Martínez

Compañón's visita documents. In fact, Huayrona is not located in the Bishopric of Trujillo, or anywhere near it. Instead, it is South of Lima, near what is today the much-visited tourist town of Nazca. It is possible that Martínez Compañón visited the Southern Coastal region and the town of Huayrona while he was serving in Lima. However, his duties as rector of the Saint Toribio Seminary, music director of the cathedral, and his extensive

Figure 5.23. Sunday *Padrón* in Huayrona.

project compiling a multi-volume book of charitable endowments made to the Lima Cathedral make it highly unlikely that he could have found the time to do this. Finally, Volume Two identifies no other towns by name. Why would this be the exception? If Huayrona does not refer to the name of a town, what does it signify?

In fact, the Huayrona the images refer to may not be a town at all. Huayrona was and is a native Andean tradition. Recent work by Frank Salomon on Andean *khipus* and local civic traditions in the highland town of Tupicocha, in the Huarochirí region, explains the native Andean custom of Huayrona. He refers to it as a

"civic plenum," or a yearly ceremony of local government in which officials "must face their public and be questioned."[415] The two-day Huayrona ceremony is derived from Andean traditions and the Spanish colonial tradition of *residencia*, or requiring an exit interview in which officials assessed the strengths and deficiencies of a bureaucrat's tenure.[416]

What other clues might explain the meaning of this image? The 1791 Royal Academy of Spanish Dictionary gives four definitions for the word *"padrón."* It may be: 1) a tribute list, 2) a public, written declaration of a law or regulation, 3) a public note of infamy or a punishment, or 4) a father who is too indulgent with his children.[417] While the tribute list definition is certainly a possibility, especially given the document the Spanish official holds in his hand, the third explanation for *padrón* – a public note of infamy – seems to draw the entire series together.

Might this conception of Huayrona fit with the Martínez Compañón images? There are certainly strong ties between Salomon's conception of the ceremony as a "civic plenum" and the action in "Sunday Padrón in Huayrona." This image seems to be a reckoning of sorts: ten Indians stand around a seminary student[418] who is seated in a fancy chair and holds some sort of document in his left hand. On either side of the student sit two gentlemen with *varas*. In the center ground of the image is a pile of some sort of sticks. These appear to be for a fire, but they might also be the displays of objects such as coca leaves, tobacco, and flowers that Salomon claims are arranged in a central visible location during the Huayrona ceremony. His research indicates that he objects displayed during a Huayrona ceremony in fact are symbolic of the individual's time in office, as "a person who abuses any of them is subject to public whipping.

Perhaps this is what is happening in Figure 5.23. One of the local Indian officials has been abusing local wood resources, perhaps taking advantage of tribute payments and skimming off the top for himself, or misreporting totals to the Spanish government.

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[415] Salomon, *The Cord Keepers. Khipus and Cultural Life in a Peruvian Village,* 75.
[416] For more on the practice of *residencia*, see Stafford C.M. Poole, *Pedro Moya de Contreras - Catholic Reform and Royal Power in New Spain, 1571-1591* (Berkeley, 1987), chapter six.
[417] *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española*, 1791.
[418] This man is identified as such because the seminary students in volume 1 are wearing the same robe and hat as he.

This image shows seven indigenous women seated in a circle in the ground. Three male officials stand before them. No seminary student presides. Instead, two of the men hold their *varas* and the third reads from some sort of list. There are no signs of punishment, and the lack of objects displayed in the center of the circle suggests that these women had not abused any of their tribute responsibilities.

To those familiar with the gender parity that is central to traditional Andean culture, a separate Huayrona for female village leaders is not surprising. Gender complimentarity is a hallmark of Andean indigenous culture, and women had equal ownership and inheritance rights, and held equal but distinct roles in religious and civic ceremonies.[419] Although their influence is not equal to that of male village and *ayllu* leaders, women are also involved in decision-making and keeping order. This image perhaps suggests that they were also part of the Huayrona tradition. Salomon does not mention uncovering evidence of such a ceremony for women in the Tupicocha traditions, but perhaps this image suggests that this was not uncommon.

This series of images demonstrates the Bishop's wish to prove that Indian communities had their own interior monitors of order and civility. Opening the Huayrona ceremonies with Catholic prayers showed that they have integrated Hispanic religious traditions into their ancient community practices of governance. Incorporating Hispanic officials, and the written tribute list also suggest that the annual "civic plenum" of Huayrona was a tradition that molded European government with indigenous rule. There is no sign of the *khipus*, or knotted cords that Andeans used (and in some places, still use) for record-keeping – these have been replaced, presumably, by Spanish-style written documents, which are much more suited to the Enlightened, modern plebeian class the Bourbon reforms and Martínez Compañón sought to cultivate in Trujillo. Their governing practices reveal them to be orderly and civil, just as the nine volumes sought to portray them.

[419] Karen Olson Bruhns and Karen E. Stothert, *Women in Ancient America* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1999), 215.

Order Through Diversion – Depicting Leisure

When Martínez Compañón re-imagined Trujillo as a laboratory of the eighteenth-century culture of improvement, he did not restrict his plans to the purely economic. He also sought to influence how people should dress, how they should raise their children, and how they should spend their free time. In his plans for education, he mandated not only that children attend primary school, but also that they arrive wearing coats with tails and with their hair combed. People were not to drink to excess in *chicherías*, nor were they to gamble excessively. They were allowed to partake in what he called "innocent diversions,"[420] such as bowling, ninepin, ball games, and card playing.

In promoting such healthy distractions, Martínez Compañón was in step with the reformers of the eighteenth-century Hispanic world. In his *Memoría sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas* (or Memoir about Spectacles and Public Diversions) Gaspar Jovellanos wrote that "a free and happy people will necessarily be active and industrious, and being such, they will be moderate and obedient to justice." He explained that this was because "the more they enjoy, the more they will have to lose, the more they will fear disorder and more they will respect authority." Perhaps even more importantly, "they will have more desire to enrich themselves because they know that this will augment their happiness…In a word, they will aspire more ardently to attain happiness because they will be more sure of enjoying it." This was, he was sure, "the main objective of all good government."[421]

In the vision of the Bourbon reformers, bullfights, card games and other popular amusements were transformed into subjects of enlightened reform. In his work on the late eighteenth-century social improvement campaign in Mexico City, Juan Viqiuera

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[420] "Disposiciones sobre el culto Católico para las distintas parroquías de su diócesis, dictadas por el Excelentisimo Baltasar Jaíme Martínez Compañón."

[421] "Un pueblo libre y alegre será precisamente activo y laborioso; y siéndolo, será bien morigerado [moderado] y obediente a la justicia...Cuanto más goce tanto más tendrá que perder, tanto más temerá el desorden y tanto más respeterá la autoridad destinada a remprimirlo. Este pueblo tendrá más ansia de enrqiuicerse porque sabrá que aumentará su placer al paso que su fortuna. En una palabra, aspirará con mas ardor a su felicidad porque estará más seguro de gozarla,[which is] el primer objeto de todo buen gobierno." Jovellanos, *Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas/Informe sobre la Ley Agraria,* 186. Another aspect of post-doctoral revisions of this chapter will be to read non-Hispanic literature on proper amusements, so that I can write an Atlantic comparative section here.

Albán has argued that the move to control leisure time arose from a newly-fashionable bourgeois sense of morality, which dictated that people were personally responsible for their own behavior, which reflected upon their true nature. Viquiera claims that elites thus found the violation of any moral standards to be exceedingly dangerous, and therefore they sought to manage the plebeian classes in every aspect of their lives – including their free time. He finds that reformers and administrators wholeheartedly promoted theater and sports like *pelota*, did not entirely condemn or support bullfighting, and tried to curtail "street diversions" like carnival. The end result, he argues, was that "the only appropriate place for the common people, apart from churches and their homes, was the workplace."[422]

Figure 5.25. Boys plowing a field with dogs.

While it is indisputable that Martínez Compañón also displayed a proclivity for micro-managing the lives of the plebeians, did he also act from fear of moral decay and decline? Some of his decrees and writing on social issues, such as his outcry against immodest fashions for women, suggest that he was acting to redirect those who had gone astray. However, the watercolor images of leisure activities in Trujillo do not suggest crisis, decline, or impropriety. Like Francisco Goya's *La Gallina Ciega* (1778,) the depictions of leisure in *Trujillo del Perú* reflect the change in portraying polite amusements among civilized people. The individuals in Goya's painting also take their leisure outside in the country, but they do not bring with them any intoxicants or any pagan Gods. Instead of wearing ragged

[422] Juan Pedro Viqiuera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, Sonya Lipsett-Rivera trans. (Wilmington, D.E., 1999), 199.

clothing, they have refined outfits, complete with fancy shoes, hats, and wigs. They enjoy fresh air, exercise, and companionship while they relax.[423]

Likewise, the twelve images of diversions in *Trujillo del Perú* reflect peaceful individuals enjoying themselves with games like tic-tac-toe and paddleball. Children play with balls and tops. Those who are especially industrious play at agricultural games imitating adults, such as "Boys plowing a field with dogs." These are not disruptive, disorderly amusements. Instead, they are peaceful and idyllic scenes of a modest but civilized life.

In another image, Indian boys play *pelota,* a Basque game that was an early derivative of what is now known as *jai-alai*. *Pelota* was a favorite of Bourbon reformers. Gaspar Jovellanos claimed that pelota games were "of great utility," because they

Figure 5.26 Indian boys playing pelota with *ganchos.*

offered both "an honest recreation to those who play and watch them" and they make those who play them "agile and robust, therefore improving the physical education of young people."[424] Juan Viqiuera Albán has argued that *pelota* held a unique place of privilege among reformers searching for diversions. It not only promoted physical well-being through exercise but at the same time demanded moderation from

[423] In future revisions I will search for more images to make these comparisons broader.
[424] Jovellanos, *Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas/Informe sobre la Ley Agraria,* 186.

the players, who had to retire from the courts when night fell or when their bodies simply could no longer compete.[425]

At the same time that some elites promoted the game, other reformers chastised it as a breeding ground for gambling habits.[426] For his part, Martinez Compañón portrayed it without judgment. Pelota was certainly a healthy pastime, which provided exercise and kept the participants from drinking or other problematic diversions. Furthermore, it also represented how the plebeian classes of Trujillo were able to emulate Spaniards and Basques in their leisure time. By depicting such imitation, the watercolors stress the ways in which the Indians, castas, and mestizos of Trujillo are appropriately Hispanicized.

Figure 5.27. Indian "giving the lance."

Although *pelota* was popular, no Spanish amusement was as culturally significant as the *corrida*, or bullfight. Originally the spectacle of the bullfight centered on the final confrontation between the bull and the upper class matador. Mounted on horseback and dressed in finery, he was easily distinguished from the band of plebeian assistants who aided him on foot.[427]

Just like *pelota*, the *corrida* encouraged betting and rowdy crowd behavior. This clashed with the new dictates of sociability of the eighteenth-century reformers. By 1754,

[425] Viqiuera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico,* 186.
[426] Ibid, chapter four.
[427] Adrian Shubert, *Death and Money in the Afternoon - A History of the Spanish Bullfight* (New York, 1999), 55.

King Philip V passed a decree outlawing bullfights. Charles III, who apparently found the spectacles "distasteful," passed similar laws, and generally condemned the events. According to Viquiera Albán, bullfights were reformers Benito Feyjóo, José Clavijo, José Cadalso, Pedro Campomanes and Gaspar Jovellanos all decried the spectacles.[428] Although bullfights were still held on some official occasions, Charles' dislike for them meant that royalty withdrew as spectators and participants.[429] What was left was a different sort of bullfight, led by unmounted ranch hands, poor gentlemen, and other plebeian sorts. These fought on foot, not on horseback. When the nobility lost interest, the bullfight became a cheap and popular entertainment wherein the lower orders were free to engage in rowdy and disruptive behavior,

Figure 5.28 A game of roosters.

such as entering the bull ring during the event, throwing objects into the ring, or transforming the afternoon into an impromptu party with music and dancing.[430] Such behavior only elicited further elite disapproval.

If the bullfight had been so discredited by the late-eighteenth-century, why would Martínez Compañón have included a

[428] Viqiuera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, 19.
[429] Gary Marvin, *Bullfight* (Oxford, 1988), 59.
[430] Viqiuera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, 17.

watercolor depicting it? Just as with the image of *pelota*, showing the people of Trujillo mimicking an important European diversion highlighted their civility and their familiarity with European manners and customs. At the same time, there was also a pragmatic reason the Bishop wanted to demonstrate to the King of Spain and his court that bullfights took place in Trujillo. They were valuable sources of revenue for the Spanish government. In New Spain, for instance, Viceroy Croix held a series of bullfights in 1769 and 1770 that raised around 25,000 and 16,000 pesos – enough to pay for the expansion of the city's *alameda*, where the well-to-do could promenade in their coaches and silken finery.[431] While there are no statistics detailing how much bullfights in Trujillo contributed to local coffers, it seems entirely likely that just as he portrayed other government sources of income like alcoholic beverages and card games, the Bishop overlooked the issues with bullfighting because he was aware of the revenues generated by the *corridas.*

Another traditional yet controversial amusement in colonial Spanish America was the notorious cockfight, or "*pelea de gallos*." These were considered to be popular but depraved diversions. Mexican social critic Hipólito Villoreal, for instance, decried cockfights as "ruinous games," which were good only for entertaining a populace that was "naturally vicious, badly inclined, almost incorrigible, and lazy."[432] Nevertheless, *Trujillo del Perú* portrays a cockfight. In Figure 5.28, the crowd seems to be jostling for better views and rushing about to place their bets. The birds have torn at one another and drops of their blood dot the sand. These aspects of the image fall in line with Villaroel's condemnation.

However, there is a second scene in the image, one that appears to be perhaps even more important than the bloody fight of the two birds. The man on the middle left hand side of the image stands in a doorway – presumably he is charging an entrance fee to those who wish to hedge their bets. The real action in the image is in the top of the frame. Here two officials sit. One is at a table, with bags of money in front of him. A man

[431] Ibid, 20.
[432] Hipólito Villarroel, *Enfermedades políticas que padece la capital de seta Nueva España, en casi todos los cuerpos de que se comopne y remedios que se le deben aplicar para su curación si se quiere que sea útil al Rey y al público. Mexico, Julio 1 1787* (Mexico City, 1999), 191.

on the right side of the image is bringing him even more money, presumably additional proceeds from bets and entrance fees. This explains why Martínez Compañón included the bloody cockfight (which, incidentally, he renamed the softer "*Juego de Gallos*" (game of roosters.) Like bullfighting, cockfighting raised valuable income for the Spanish crown. This is an extremely pragmatic approach to popular diversions, one that privileges revenue over abstract concepts like civility and propriety.

Alcohol use was another plebeian habit that concerned elites and reformers, yet also helped to fund their projects. Given just how much Bourbon reformers fretted over excessive drinking, one might expect moralizing images that highlighted the dangers of *chicha,* or the traditional fermented corn alcoholic beverage of the Andes. In fact, Martínez Compañón was so opposed to liquor that he called it "a poison against the health and life of those who use it,"[433] and he penned a proposal for its prohibition that he circulated throughout his diocese. Eradicating the vice of drunkenness was such a concern that he once joked "whosoever might hear me talk so ceaselessly about it, would think that I were a great drinker of liquor, although I don't recall having tried it ever in my life."[434] (Although surely he must have had abstemious sips of the sacred wine for mass.) His opposition to drinking was little different from that of many Spanish American elites, who typically agreed that taverns and *chicherías* were low-class havens of bad behavior.[435]

[433] Martínez Compañón, "Despacho sobre la prohibicion de aguardientes," 1786. Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Moyrera, Document 57.
[434] "Cualquiera que a mi me oliese hablar tan menudamente de esto, entendiera que yo era gran bebedor de aguardiente, siendo asi que no me acuerdo haberla probado en mi vida." Martínez Compañón to Augustin de Querejazu, Trujillo, 1781. Martínez Compañón, "(correspondencia) letters to Querejazu 123-," Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Correspondencia, D1-25-727.
[435] Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854.* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1999), 125.

Figure 5.29. Indians eating in the chicherία.

Figure 5.30 Indians dancing on the chicherία patio.

Surely a Bishop who stood so staunchly against alcohol would completely exclude *chicherías* from his work. At the very least, by including images of depraved drunkards, he would carefully convey the possible pitfalls of frequenting them.

Ironically, the nine volumes offer no such cautionary tale. In fact, the images involving *chicha* are surprisingly benign. The first two scenes portray Indians hard at work boiling and straining it. Next, figure 5.29 shows a *chicheria* owner serving lunch to two men. One of them seems to have fallen asleep, and the other appears to gesture emphatically, as if for emphasis in his speech. No *chicha* actually appears in the image. The next scene shows a man and a woman dancing in the courtyard of a *chicherία*, while two musicians perform in the background. There is no hint of violent or licentious behavior in either of these watercolors. Instead, these images suggest peaceable and harmless ways to pass the time and relax. This clearly contrasts

with Martínez Compañón's prohibition efforts. The difference between how chicha use

Figure 5.31. Dance of Men Dressed as Women

was discussed and how it was portrayed in the nine volumes forms another provocative disconnect between ideology and imagery. It can be interpreted as part of the Bishop's continued efforts to ensure his diocese would be presented in the best possible light. In many ways this tactic is similar to what Katzew and Deans-Smith suggest regarding how many of the later casta paintings speak directly to the major concerns of Bourbon reformers by highlighting commerce, industry, and order. It suggests Martínez Compañón's reform agenda had been so successful, it could even alleviate or manage the notorious problem of drunkenness among America's native population.

Aside from games, bullfights, cockfights, and taverns, one of the most important times of public diversion in colonial Spanish America were the raucous games and dances of c*arnestolendas*, or carnival. However, Spanish officials repeatedly censured

carnival festivities over a number of issues, including locals dressing up in clerical garb and throwing hollowed-out eggshells filled with seeds known as *cascarones*.[436] But if carnival festivities did not in any way relate to the eighteenth-century culture of improvement, then why would Martínez Compañón have included 34 of them in *Trujillo del Perú*?

It seems likely that since carnival was a Catholic, European tradition, Martínez Compañón wanted to demonstrate its acceptance in Trujillo. As with pelota and bullfights, local enactments of peninsular, European traditions highlighted the trans-Atlantic links of the Spanish empire. After all, although they have strong bacchanalian traditions, Carnival celebrations are most directly linked to the Catholic calendar. This is why they occur in the period prior to Lent, or the weeks of solemnity and contemplation before Easter Sunday.[437]

In what specific aspects do Spanish and Peruvian carnival traditions intersect? First, displays of social inversion were common to both Spain and the overseas kingdoms. As such, costumes that inverted sex roles were especially popular. These were outlawed in Spain and condemned by the church on various occasions, because they were considered "impure actions." According to Elisabet Fernández, these costumes were nevertheless so popular that they eventually became "a generalized custom in all times and in all of Spanish geography."[438]

[436] Viqiuera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico,* 109.
[437] Jerome R. Mintz, *Carnival Song and Society. Gossip, Sexuality, and Creativity in Andalusia* (New York, 1997), xv.
[438] Elisabet Fernández González, *El Carnaval en España* (Madrid, 2002), 50.

Figure 5.32 Dance of the lions.

Figure 5.33. Dance of the bears.

Another trans-Atlantic carnival tradition is the use of animal costumes. Often, the animals portrayed are those that threaten locals. Fernández writes that the bear costumes typically used in carnival parades and events in the Pyrenees are “a form of overcoming fear,” as well as representing a ‘ritual attempt to try to flee [the bear] in one of the moments in which this animal is most dangerous, “after its period of hibernation.”[439] We know from the earlier image of the bear hunt that bears were also dangerous predators in Trujillo. Replicating the Spanish custom of bear dances at carnival, then, demonstrated that the people of Northern Peru could respond to threats with custom and tradition just like the Spanish did.

A close perusal of the carnival images shows that in fourteen of the carnival watercolors, people danced in a rural, grassy area, near a house structure. In three of

[439] Ibid, 65.

these images, the costumed dancers and accompanying musicians are met in front of the house by someone who pours them drink or gives them food, such as in figure 5.32, "Dance of the Lions." Here the lion dancers, who hold handkerchiefs and sticks, and wear bells on their ankles, approach a house in the country. The man who lives there is dressed in ragged looking clothes and has no shoes, yet he offers to share with the dancers some of his food or drink. The man in the lower right hand corner of the image holds out his bowl to receive the gift.

What is going on when the individuals approach houses in the countryside? First, the images are highlighting what Viquiera Albán has identified as an important trend in late-colonial carnival celebrations: faced with strict censure from elites, the plebeian dancers, musicians, and partygoers transplanted their revelries to Indian villages, where they were farther from the Spanish authorities.[440] Secondly, the dancers are enacting yet another Spanish carnival tradition, one which Fernández identifies as "*cuestaciones,"* or donation requests. These are made by groups of young people who during carnival season go from house to house and ask for donations of food, which they will then use to create a large common meal.[441] In the Trujillo watercolors as well, the dancers are definitely performing for the people they visit, and in return they are given food or drink. Here they are performing a local variation of yet another tradition that originally came from Spain. By showing them re-enacting it, the Bishop is assuring his audience that the people of Trujillo are an integrated aspect of the Spanish empire.

All of the aforementioned images are visual representations of Martínez Compañón's science of empire in action. They show the people of Trujillo to be obedient and civilized. However, within the set of carnival images lay several watercolors that depict dances that might not have been viewed so favorably by Spanish authorities. While priests, bishops, and other extirpators had worked for hundreds of years to eradicate indigenous religious practices perceived as idolatrous, the late eighteenth century saw different efforts at controlling indigenous ideology through censoring representations of Inka royalty. In the tense socio-political climate following the Tupac

[440] Viqiuera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, 104.
[441] Fernández González, *El Carnaval en España*, 66.

Amaru rebellions, new decrees forbade portraying Inka rulers or royalty in ceremonial costume, traditional art work, theater and dance performances.[442] Nevertheless, several such images of officially prohibited activities appear in the dance section of volume two.

For example, a brief examination of the Bishop's images of the "Chimu" dance reveals several characteristics that would have conflicted with the ban on Incaic pageantry. The dancers in figure 5.34, for example carry the axes that are traditional symbols of Incaic royal power. Their crowns look like the imperial Inka headdress known as the *suntur paqwa*r, which Carolyn Dean argues represents the Incaic royal trappings that had disappeared after the Spanish defeat of the Inca.[443]

Figure 5.34. Dance of the Chimu.

[442] Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C., 1999), especially chapter three.
[443] Ibid., 141

The objects at the top of the crown also have symbolic value. Dean has identified the crescent moon as a symbol of the Cañari indigenous group, which lived South of Quito, close to Trujillo.

Why did the Bishop include watercolors that portrayed outlawed dances? While it is possible that the Bishop may have viewed these images as representations of harmless traditions, the same statement cannot so easily be made for the subsequent three watercolors that depict different versions of the dance of the "Decapitation of the Inka." The watercolors portray the first version of the dance in two separate stages.

Figure 5.35. Dance of the decapitation of the Inka. **Figure 5.36. Dance of the same decapitation.**

In the first image , Atahualpa passes his final days in captivity, with his courtesans who have also been incarcerated. The second image represents his decapitation outside of the prison. Perhaps the most obvious thing about these "dances" is that they do not

appear to be dances at all.[444] There are no musicians present. The individuals do not have matching costumes, nor do they appear to be moving in unison. Instead of representing a dance, these images might actually show one of the so-called "conquest plays" about early colonial episodes. Fiona Wilson, an expert on modern dances portraying the Spanish-Inca confrontation in the conquest period, has argued that "in the late colonial period, Indian dance/theatre was increasingly used to revive a Messianic figure of the Inca king. Performed in Quechua in the central squares of Indian villages, this drama undermined the legitimacy of Spanish rule. It fostered and spread the utopian myth of the Inca king's return," and in so doing, "it helped prepare ground and galvanize support for the massive native rebellions that shook the Andes in the eighteenth century."[445]

Understandably, such activities were frowned upon in the wake of the 1780-1782 rebellions. Spanish authorities in Peru outlawed the use of Inka costumes and the display of the royal portraits of Inka kings.[446] If dances such as this were such an anathema to reformers, why would the Bishop have portrayed such a thing? Perhaps an answer to this question might come from observing where in the section on the dances the Bishop placed these images. They are at the end of the dance section, but followed by two other dances of the same decapitation. The images in the second set look much more like dances. Perhaps Martínez Compañón was aware that the illustrations were in fact portraying something that was taboo or prohibited. He might have purposely hidden the more inflammatory watercolors amongst the mundane (as he did with the *omeco-machachuai*) from chapter four. Perhaps he hoped that if they were hidden, the Viceroy and other functionaries charged with reviewing them would not impose censure.

Whatever the Bishop' s intention in including them, it is indisputable that the images of creole supervisors treating Indians poorly, of drug-induced visions of two headed snakes, and of forbidden dances celebrating Inkaic culture do not neatly fit with

[444] Arturo Jiménez Borja, "Arte popular en Martínez Compañón," in *Trujillo del Peru - Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón - Acuarelas - Siglo XVIII* (1997), 95.
[445] Fiona Wilson, "Indians and Mestizos: Identity and Urban Popular Culture in Andean Peru." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 26 (June 2000): 242.
[446] Dean, Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ, 56.

the more pastoral, idyllic images of Indians playing cards or harvesting wheat. Though powerful, they are aberrations. Instead, it was this latter group of euphemistic images that the Bishop clearly sought to highlight in his work. They reinforced the ideas of the Bourbon reformers, and they celebrated his own successful reform efforts. Why then, include images that might contradict this agenda? Was it a mere accident that might signify Martínez Compañón was less familiar with native culture than scholars have assumed him to be? Perhaps it might have been a subtle but intentional criticism of a Spanish colonial regime that overworked its plebeian class and forbid their traditional customs. Without any personal commentary from the Bishop, we shall never know definitively what such a disconnect between reformer's rhetoric and artisan's imagery actually meant. However, it is not these images of native discontent or flouting of Spanish rule that best characterize the images of Trujillans in volume two. Rather, it is those watercolors that reflect the success of the Bourbon agenda – agricultural workers happily harvesting, a porter Indian at work, a pair of Indians playing cards together. These individuals are shown to have fully conformed to the agenda of Campillo, Campomanes, and Martínez Compañón. The inhabitants of Trujillo seem to have joined Martínez Compañón and the Bourbon reformers in the quest to improve their own lives and the well being of their viceroyalty and their kingdom.

Figure 5.37. Indian with smallpox.

What Lies Outside: Sickness, Death, and Exclusion from The Best of All Possible Worlds

When selecting and compiling the watercolors for volume two, Martínez Compañón clearly strategized about how to portray Trujillo as the best of all possible worlds in an isolated province of Northern Peru. He focused on

images of agricultural productivity, small-scale textile production, and orderly amusements, all of which highlighted the capacity of the area's people and resources to flourish as part of the eighteenth-century culture of improvement . These were conscious choices that dovetailed with the typical Bourbon emphasis on "orderly, productive subjects," that Deans-Smith and Katzew have identified as a dominant trait of late-eighteenth century Hispanic visual culture.

However, it was more challenging to depict some aspects of life in Trujillo as part of this utopian vision. The Bishop undoubtedly excluded certain topics that would have reflected poorly on the status of his reforms. For example, the watercolors make no reference to political turmoil, such as the series of indigenous rebellions that threatened Spanish rule of the Andes in the 1780s. Also not illustrated are the ruined or partially destroyed buildings that still dotted the landscape after the disastrous earthquake of 1746.[447] These omissions and others like them resulted in an optimistic but not entirely accurate portrait of the area. They suggest that to some degree, the Bishop was unwilling to admit that his efforts could not wholly address the problems of Trujillo and Peru.

Figure 5.38. Indian in agony.

[447] Daniel Restrepo, "Vida y Hechos de Martínez Compañón," in *Trujillo del Peru - Appendice II*, ed. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois (Madrid, 1993), 47.

Images of political instability or decaying infrastructure would have been vivid reminders of a reality not always characterized by the peace, order, and hard work that Bourbon reformers valued.

Likewise, some facets of daily life in eighteenth-century Trujillo were softened or cleaned up in the watercolors, just as the watercolors of the cockfight or the *chichería.* While these appear interspersed with the other illustrations in the volume, a final, separate group of watercolors deal with topics that could potentially jeopardize Trujillo's utopian image. These have to do with sickness, and death.

Although not prominently featured in the watercolors, illness and epidemic disease were daily reminders of the fragility of life in Trujillo. The Northern Peruvian epidemics of 1785 and 1786 are considered among the "most devastating epidemics of the eighteenth century."[448] The Bishop himself wrote to a friend in 1786 that "every day there is more plague in the sierra provinces…everywhere many people are dying."[449] Four years later from Trujillo, he described the situation as even more dire. "This has been the sickest year I have seen since my arrival," he wrote. "There has been no season like this one, in which many people of all ages and sexes sicken and die."[450]

However, such mass suffering and misery are nowhere to be found in the *Trujillo* watercolors. Instead, only three watercolors illustrate sickness, and all do so on an individual level. The image of the mestizo suffering from "*uta*," or l*eshmaniasis*, which was discussed in chapter four suggests the disease is somewhat disfiguring but does not incapacitate. Another shows a woman affected by leprosy peacefully bathing. In a third, an Indian with smallpox rests alone in a tent, presumably so as not to infect his family and village. Although red and black pustules cover his body, he smiles in a way that makes the disease seem like a mild annoyance that will quickly pass.

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[448] Susan Alchon, *Native Society and Disease in Colonial Ecuador* (Cambridge, 1991), 105.
[449] "Aqui tenemos tambien bastante en que ejercitar la paciencia porque cada dia va cundiendo mas la peste por las provincias de sierras, siendo en todas partes much la gente que esta muriendo." "Martínez Compañón to August ín de Querejazu, Trujillo, 10 August 1786," Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Francisco Moyrera Matute, #564.
[450] "Aqui ha sido el ano el mas enfermo que he visto desde que llegue, aunque ninguna estacion tanto como la presente, en que enferman y mueren de todas edades y sexos bastantes gentes." "Martínez Compañón to Augustín de Querejazu, Trujillo, January 25, 1790," Lima: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Colección Francisco Moyrera Matute #564.

If he personally witnessed such catastrophic illness and death, why did the Bishop not order it to be represented more honestly? Like indigenous rebellion and destruction from natural disasters, epidemic disease had no place in the positive, idealistic Bourbon universe. Just as ignorance and superstition could be conquered (or at least controlled) scientific investigation, and education; in the age of Enlightenment disease could be managed through rational study and careful management. The toned-down quality of the illustrations is suggestive of this belief.

Although the disease images do not suggest mortality, the two subsequent watercolors of a deathbed scene and a wake, imply that often the consequences of disease were all too real, but that when death came, the people of Trujillo met it with proper European, Catholic ritual. Figure 5.38, "Indian in agony" shows a humble villager in his deathbed made of straw or sticks. It is softened only by one simple blanket, and protected only by a thatched roof. In her work on death in eighteenth-century Cadiz, Maria de la Pascua writes that in the moment of agony, what mattered most "was to die well, to die a Christian death."[451] This is represented by the crucifix the dying Indian holds in his hand. The priest is actually administering a sacrament, the final confession of the dying known in English as extreme unction, and in Castilian as *extremaunción*. This entailed giving the dying the crucifix to hold, "so that he rested in the arms of his savior," and then giving up the soul to God, asking that he pardon and receive it.[452]

As one of the official sacraments marking an individual's trajectory as a Catholic, extreme unction was of utmost importance to religious officials. It was even more crucial with a population that continued to engage in potentially suspect habits. Well aware of this reality, Martínez Compañón insisted that in addition to noting the presence of a will and burial location in death records, parish priests should take care to determine whether the individual received the sacraments of penitence, the Eucharist, and extreme unction.[453] He was well aware of how difficult it often was for Trujillo's priests to reach

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[451] Maria José De la Pascua, *Vivir la Muerte en el Cadiz del Setecientos (1675-1801)* (Cadiz, 1990), 122.
[452] Ibid, 123.
"Disposiciones sobre el culto Católico para las distintas parroquías de su diócesis, dictadas por el Excelentisimo Baltasar Jaíme Martínez Compañón."

the sick or dying to administer last rights. But he insisted they focus their efforts on extreme unction, mainly “to defeat the diabolic temptations [of indigenous religious traditions] which are stronger than ever”[454] at the moment of death. He reasoned that if priests could not oversee indigenous households at the critical moments when ancestral religious practices were most likely to arise, it would be all the more difficult to establish a general order or to “extirpate all of this complex of evils.”[455] Indeed, it seems that he deemed this sacrament so important, that it is the only image of a sacrament being performed in all of *Trujillo del Perú*. In volume two, the only other priest, and an assistant at that, appears in the series of Huayrona images.

Figure 5.39. Heathen Indians in Canoe.

Sickness and death, then, close out volume two on a somewhat pessimistic note. Yet even here the visual rhetoric of order and civility is apparent. Disease is contained, manageable. When Indians die,

[454] "José Luis Freyre to Martínez Compañón, Piura, June 2, 1783," Bogotá: Archivo Nacional de Colombia, Virreyes 61, Tomo 7, Sobre la fundación del nuevo Pueblo de las Playas, Piura.
[455] Ibid.

their souls are assured entrance into God's kingdom because the parish priest is able to administer the essential final rites. Sickness and death, then, can also become part of the utopian vision of Trujillo.

Are any images included in volume two that are not part of Martínez Compañón's plan? Does he present the viewer with any depictions of people or places that have not yet been touched by the eighteenth-century culture of improvement? The final three watercolors in the volume, depicting what are referred to as "Heathen Indians," demonstrate that which still lies outside the King's Trujillo.

Figure 5.40. Heathen Indian of the Lamas Mountains.

Figure 5.41. Female Heathen Indian of the the Lamas Mountains.

Heathen Indians, alternately called "Indios Mecos," "Infieles" or "Bárbaros," were a familiar kink in the best-laid plans of Bourbon reformers. David Weber's recent work

Bárbaros, Spaniards and their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment explains how unincorporated Indians who had not been meaningfully introduced to Catholic religion or Hispanic culture were painful reminders of the difficulties of implementing the Bourbon reform policies in Spanish America. The Bourbon emphasis on trade, commerce, and urbane acculturation for native groups was simply ineffective with tribes who continued to invade Spanish settlements or who refused to conform to European social mandates. Despite the best efforts of reformers, many "savage" Indians remained unincorporated into the culture of improvement, sociability, and civility.[456]

Judging by Martínez Compañón's placement of the heathen Indians in the volume, he had reached similar conclusions about how his science of empire might transform Trujillo. With their nakedness, feather ornaments, and facial piercings, the heathen Indians are decidedly "others." Their appearance has nothing in common with the light-skinned, light-haired Indians who play *pelota* and work in textile shops. They serve as a foil that highlights how civilized and Hispanicized the other Indians of America have become. They provide a contrast for the rest of the Indians of Trujillo; those who are hard at work dyeing cloth, making soap, and forging metal. They are *not* part of the best possible world Martínez Compañón imagined for Trujillo – not yet. In the visual hierarchy of watercolors, they lie beneath sickness and even death. They are excluded from the improvements of imperial science. Why are they depicted? Perhaps the Bishop selected their images to demonstrate that the Crown and Church still had more work to do in Trujillo, or to serve as warning of the precipitous backslide into barbarism that might occur if such efforts were abandoned.

[456] Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*.

Chapter Six:

Martínez Compañón's Legacy

Although as the still-unconverted infidel Indians demonstrated, some elements of the Bishop's plans to remake Trujillo remained incomplete or troubled, in general his work must have been judged a success by his secular and ecclesiastical supervisors, because on September 13, 1788 he was promoted to a new post as Archbishop of Santa Fé de Bogotá, New Granada. While in Bogotá, Martínez Compañón enjoyed the rich atmosphere of sociability and intellectual stimulation, yet he also found time to continue with many of the same initiatives he had worked on in Trujillo, especially education. This final chapter discusses the Bishop's final years in Bogotá and his death, and then turns to an assessment of the legacy of his imperial science. The locates Martínez Compañón as an increasingly rare representative of a class of royalist prelates and bureaucrats who only a few years after his death, would find their privileged positions challenged by an economically desperate royal administration.

The Science of Empire in Bogotá

Martínez Compañón's predecessor as Archbishop was Antonio Caballero y Góngora, one of the most powerful men in the history New Granada. Caballero y Góngora had served concurrently as Archbishop of Bogotá from 1777 to 1788 and as Viceroy of New Granada from 1782 to 1789. He had been installed as interim Viceroy after his adept response to the 1781 Comunero rebellion, in which an alliance of elites and plebeians stormed the capital to protest Bourbon belt-tightening in the profitable tobacco and liquor industries.[457] Caballero y Góngora was a classic enlightened prelate. His interests included supporting education reform, natural history (he was a patron of botanist José

[457] On the comunero rebellion, see Anthony McFarlane, "Civil Disorders and Popular Protests in Late Colonial New Granada," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 64 (1984), Anthony McFarlane, *Colombia Before Independence - Economy, Society, and Politics under Bourbon Rule* (Cambridge, 1993), Anthony McFarlane, "Rebellions in Late Colonial Spanish America: A Comparative Perspective," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 14 (1995), Roberto Maria Tisnes Jimenez, *Caballero y Gongora y los Comuneros* (Bogotá, 1984).

Celestino Mutis), and literary culture – he also supported the journalist Manuel De Socorro Rodriguez.[458]

Although both Caballero y Góngora and Martínez Compañón were representative Enlightened prelates of the Bourbon period, the vast social, economic, and cultural disparities between the provincial Trujillo and the relatively cosmopolitan Bogotá necessitated different responsibilities. In Trujillo, Martínez Compañón worked with a highly impoverished and majority indigenous population. In contrast, Bogotá and Colombia had a significantly higher rate of *mestizaje,* and most of the population fell into this hybrid socio-cultural category. The few Indian communities that did exist were typically isolated from the Hispanicized cities both culturally and geographically.

Colombia's lack of a large Indian population also impacted the social climate. In Peru, Spanish and creole elites typically aligned in their fear of the Indian and African masses, (especially in the wake of the Indian rebellions of the early 1780s), whereas in Colombian society the high rate of *mestizaje* made the threat of race rebellion much less significant.

Despite the Viceroyalty's weak economy (which was, of course, far from unusual in late Bourbon Spanish America), Bogotá was a bustling urban metropolis that could offer a lifestyle much more similar to what Martínez Compañón had enjoyed in Lima or in Spain. As the administrative and ecclesiastical capital of New Granada, Bogotá had approximately 1,200 religious by 1800 – a figure that Anthony McFarlane estimates meant that there was one cleric for every 25-30 laypeople.[459] The city had had a printing press since 1739, and it supported a vibrant intellectual culture supported by a rich network of salons or *tertúlias*. These included Socorro Rodríguez's "Eutropelica," a group focused on cultural and literary discussions.[460] These were the individuals

[458] On Caballero y Góngora, see Marco Antonio Fonseca Truque, *Historia del delito en Colombia: el veneno del arzobispo* (Bogotá, 1983), Tisnes Jimenez, *Caballero y Gongora y los Comuneros*.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Antolinez cautions that in the late-eighteenth century, the term "literary" had a much broader meaning, which included anything to pertaining to knowledge of human beings, including philosophy, politics, and science. Rafael Antolínez Camargo, *El Papel Periódico de Santafé de Bogotá 1791-1797 - Vehículo de las luces y la contrarrevolución* (Bogotá, 1991), 50-51.

Martínez Compañón met with on a regular basis. Other notable salon gatherings were those of future independence leader Antonio Nariño, called the "Arcano de la Filantropía," which had a political focus, and Dona Manuela Santamaria de Manrique's "Tertulia del Bueno Gusto," which was also mainly a literary group.[461] Another main feature of local intellectual life was the *Papel Periódico de Santa Fé,* published by Socorro and the Eurtropelica. Like Peru's *Mercurio Peruano*, the *Papel Periódico* focused on useful and pragmatic information that would renovate and improve society. Later, it would frequently report on Martínez Compañón's activities as well, celebrating his efforts in founding a new church for the city's Capuchins, mentioning how he blessed the new city cemetery, and praising his work supporting the girls school at the Enseñanza convent.[462]

Clearly, Bogotá had much to interest and engage a man like Martínez Compañón. Yet the Bishop still found that when he thought of leaving Trujillo behind, he was overcome with feelings of sadness and unease. This melancholy was most clearly expressed in his detailed and descriptive letters to Andres de Achurra, his successor as Bishop of Trujillo, with whom he maintained a rich correspondence between his promotion and departure for Bogotá. He appealed to Achurra to take up his pet causes of schools, seminaries, and new churches, all of which he feared would be abandoned and forgotten once he left for New Granada. Trying to convince himself all would not be lost, the Bishop wrote to Achurra, "I go with the consolation that you will advance much more than I would have advanced...This hope is my only handkerchief for [my] tears at the time of my most painful departure from my Bishopric that I have come to love so much for so many different reasons, and whose prosperity will interest me always as much as my own."[463] A few weeks later, he wrote about the "deep relationship that for such a long time I have had with [Peru], the reverence...and love that its townspeople and inhabitants of all conditions and classes have merited." He especially praised their "general docility in

[461] Ibid.
[462] The Papél Periódico was published by the Banco de la República in Bogotá in 1978 and is available as a twenty volume set.
[463] "Martínez Compañón to Andres de Achurra," Trujillo, 27 may 1790. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal. Comunicaciónes Eclesiásticas, 1778-1790. "La Despedida."

embracing my dispositions and proposals. Certainly," he wrote, "they are very deserving of an eternal memory and recognition from me."[464] This same anxiety spilled into his personal correspondence as well. As he pondered his fast approaching departure, he wrote in his last letter to the Hermeregildos from Peru, "my pain at leaving Peru is indescribable after twenty-two years of residency in it." He concluded his final correspondence in a dark and despairing tone. "Have compassion for me, because I am very deserving of it," he wrote to his dear friend Agustín. "I can write no more."[465]

6.1 Map of Colombia, from http://scouts.elysiumgates.com/map-colombia.gif

The despondency of these final words of communication from Trujillo conjure a lonely image of Martínez Compañón seated at a writing desk, quietly sealing his final letter from Peru as an occasional tear falls onto the paper, while workers loaded his worldly possessions onto a nearby boat. But it was not to be so simple. Delays in paperwork, funding, and Achurra's arrival postponed the new Archbishop's departure. It was not until

[464] "Martínez Compañón to Andres de Achurra," Trujillo, April 12 1790. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal. Comunicaciónes Eclesiásticas, 1778-1790. "La Despedida."
[465] "Martínez Compañón to Agustín Hermeregildo de Querejazu," Trujillo, June 10, 1790. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal. Comunicaciónes Eclesiásticas, 1778-1790. "La Despedida."

June 30, 1790, that he finally embarked for his journey in the port of Huanchaco, outside Trujillo. The trip was not much easier than preparing for it - his vessel ran aground twice during the journey, and he developed an infection in his right eye that prevented him from reading and writing. Finally, Martínez Compañón touched ground in his new Viceroyalty when he arrived in the port city of Cartagena. From there he traveled up the Magdalena River to Mompox, in the Colombian interior, where his failing health and troublesome migraine headaches waylaid him for an extra month. However, in typical fashion he made good use of this rare down time, deciding to visit the impoverished peoples who lived on the banks of the Magdalena. Later on, he was able to purchase several *estancias* upon which they formed a new settlement, and he saw that they were annexed to the nearby *curato* of Nare.[466]

Almost immediately upon entering Bogotá on March 12, 1791, Martínez Compañón set to work on reform projects that were strikingly similar to his various endeavors in Trujillo. He delineated the repairs of local churches that had been damaged in the earthquake of 1785. He donated funds to Spain's war against France, once even purchasing an office for eight million pesos. He founded five primary schools throughout the city, one for each main neighborhood. He established a seminary with money from his own coffers. He confirmed 25,000 people and consecrated the newly rebuilt Cathedral in 1792. In March 1795, he began a pastoral *visita* throughout Santa Fé.[467]

Of all of his interests, he was most closely involved with the project to revitalize and reform the girl's school at the Convento de la Enseñanza. He arranged for full scholarships for several of the boarding students, and made sure that between sixty and

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[466] Antón M. Pazos and Daniel Restrepo Manrique, "Acción de Martínez Compañón en Perú y Nueva Granada," in *Los Vascos y America - Ideas, Hechos, Hombres*, ed. Ignacio Pérez Arana (Madrid, 1990), 338.

[467] For information on Martínez Compañón in New Granada, see Pilar Foz y Foz, *Mujer y Educación en Colombia, Siglos XVI-XIX. Aportaciones del colegio de La Enseñanza, 1783-1900.* (Santafé de Bogotá, 1997), Armando Gómez Latorre, "Una Semblanza Historica: El Arzobispo Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda," *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* Number 786J (1994), Manrique, "Acción de Martínez Compañón en Perú y Nueva Granada.", José Manuel Peréz Ayala, *Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, Prelado Español de Colombia y el Peru* (Bogotá, 1955).

seventy day students of varying socio-economic background would also be educated at the school. The students were to learn reading, writing, basic math, embroidery, and Christian doctrine. The Archbishop repeatedly donated money to La Enseñanza, once as much as 4,100 pesos. When he died, he left his entire inheritance to the school.[468]

Presumably he was so dedicated to La Enseñanza because he had tried (and failed) to establish girls' schools in Trujillo, even though there had been interest in educating girls there. While parents had agreed with his statement that if female children were educated, their parents would be "better served, their superiors more respected, and their husbands understanding of the honor and fidelity owed to them." They also consented that the girls themselves would be "full of the manners and prudence, of the good examples and good will, [necessary] to govern themselves and their families in all times of life."[469] When it came time to donate the funds necessary to the school's upkeep, the impoverished Peruvian communities were unable to fulfill their promises.[470] It is likely that in the richer and more educated Bogotano society, Martínez Compañón was quite happy to see more support for his ideas, and more financial wherewithal to transform them into reality.

Somehow among all of these responsibilities, the new Archbishop also found the time to participate in the intellectual and cultural activities that were integral to life in Bogotá. He cultivated a lasting friendship with renowned botanist José Celestino Mutis. Mutis dedicated a plant to his new friend, calling it the *Martinezia Granatensis*, and stood by the Archbishop's side when he died, serving as a witness to Martínez Compañón's will. The Archbishop also spent time with Manuel de Socorro Rodríguez.[471] Finally, his personal correspondence reveals that he was close friends with Caballero y Góngora's successor as Viceroy, fellow Basque José de Ezpeleta. Martínez Compañón borrowed

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[468] Foz y Foz, *Mujer y Educación en Colombia, Siglos XVI-XIX. Aportaciones del colegio de La Enseñanza, 1783-1900,* 211.
[469] Martínez Compañón, "De la erección de una beateria para niñas en la capital de Huamachuco," 1785. Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Colegios y universidades.
[470] This epiode, along with an extended consideration of girls' education, was cut from the current draft of chapter three but will be reinserted in the manuscript.
[471] For a succinct discussion of these activities, see Manrique, "Acción de Martínez Compañón en Perú y Nueva Granada," 340.

the latter's copies of the *Mercurio Peruano* and inquired politely about his wife's health.[472]

While these relationships and activities were undoubtedly rewarding, Martínez Compañón's time in Bogotá was not only consumed by charitable works and intellectual discussions. As the most powerful ecclesiastical figure for hundreds of miles, he had no choice but to occasionally become involved in contentious and polemical matters. For instance, he was embroiled in a controversy over the building of a theater in Bogotá. He opposed the project because he considered the dramatic arts to be little more than a source of corruption and sin. However, in the end, he was unable to block the project, and actors, comedians, and dancers became part of the social fabric of the city.[473]

Although in some ways, the anti-theater episode suggests that the Bishop was growing increasingly conservative in his old age, he still evidenced the compassion and generosity he was known for in Trujillo. For instance, in 1795, at the age of fifty-eight, he defended a group of young republican rebels in an episode known as the "Pasquines rebellion." This small-scale Bogotá uprising was the brainchild of a group of young lawyers and students who were in the process of being admitted as attorneys for the Royal Audiencia.[474] They felt that as creole students in New Granada, they had been exploited and subjugated by local and peninsular officials. With the North American and French Revolutions (as well as the 1781 Comunero Rebellion in their own country) fresh in their minds, they pasted *pasquines*, or broadsheets lampooning and criticizing the Crown and its ministers throughout Bogotá. Then Antonio Nariño, the young journalist

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[472] "Martínez Compañón to Jose de Ezpeleta, Santa Fé, 9 August, 1791." Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, Sección Enrique Ortega, Curas y Obispos, Caja 51, Carpeta 1.

[473] Gómez Latorre, "Una Semblanza Historica: El Arzobispo Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda," 632. In this Martínez Compañón actually ran counter to the efforts of many Enlightened reformers, who often saw the theater as a way to teach order and decorum to the illiterate, uncivilized masses. Perhaps the theater the Archbishop tried to block was more of the type featuring puppet shows, spontaneous and unruly interactions with the audience, and improper dance and costumes. Juan Viquiera Albán writes that this type of "lowbrow" theater was almost universally opposed by Enlightenment reformers in the Hispanic world. Juan Pedro Viqiuera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, Sonya Lipsett-Rivera trans. (Wilmington, D.E., 1999), chapter two.

[474] Victor M. Uribe-Urbán, "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America During the Age of Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (2000).

who would later become a leader of New Granada's fight for Independence, took it upon himself to translate, print, and distribute the radical French revolution document "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Of the Citizen."

Unfortunately, Nariño's timing was uncannily poor. In the aftermath of Robespierre's reign of terror, the Spanish were recoiling from radical Enlightenment thought, especially that of the French.[475] The resulting condemnation and trial of the *pasquineros* was swift and harsh. While Nariño was lucky to be sentenced to "permanent " exile (from which he eventually returned after stints in Cadiz, Madrid, Paris, and London), officials imprisoned many of his co-conspirators, and at least one of them died.[476] As the highest ecclesiastical authority in the land and a staunch supporter of the Spanish Crown, Martínez Compañón naturally did not approve of their subversive activities. Yet he pitied the rebels, considering them to be young, poor, and largely misled students who had influence over one another but could hardly affect the sentiment of people throughout the viceroyalty. In his mind, they posed no real danger. Although he supported some sort of punishment for them, he did not advocate permanent exile or imprisonment. In September 1795, he petitioned Viceroy Ezpeleta to pardon the *pasquineros* by giving them royal clemency.[477] By June 4, 1799 the young men were released.[478]

However, by that time, Martínez Compañón was no longer alive to witness their freedom. In late June of 1797, he had fallen ill and was reduced to bed rest by the constant stress his peripatetic work schedule had placed on his aging body. He was confined to his bed for several weeks, barely able to move or to eat. On August 14, the doctors were summoned, and they determined the time had arrived for his final rites. He then gave what fray Fermín Ibañez would later refer to in his funeral oration as a

[475] For more on this see, chapter eight of Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, 1958), John Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700 - 1808* (Oxford, 1989).
[476] Uribe-Urbán, "The Birth of a Public Sphere in Latin America During the Age of Revolution."
[477] Manrique, "Acción de Martínez Compañón en Perú y Nueva Granada."
[478] Gómez Latorre, "Una Semblanza Historica: El Arzobispo Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda."

"humble and simple" confession.[479] The Archbishop died soon thereafter, on the morning of August 17, 1797. Those viewing his corpse felt sure that they were in the presence of a holy martyr when upon examining the Bishop's feet, they found that "some of his toenails had grown in such a way that curving themselves as if on purpose over the tips of his toes, they were buried in the flesh."[480] A less grotesque snippet of local lore holds that "a fragrant aroma came from his body," and that on the day of his death, "all the people, even the children walked through the streets crying. The very sky was pained and in those three days before he was buried, the sun did not come out."[481]

As was proper for such a high-ranking ecclesiastic, a magnificent procession through the plaza preceded Martínez Compañón's funeral on August 19, 1797. The day also included several funeral orations. Fernando Caicedo y Florez, the future Archbishop of Santa Fé, spoke in the Bishop's beloved Colegio de la Enseñanza. Don Manuel Andrade presented a second oration in the Cathedral, Fray Fermin Ibañez paid tribute to him in the San Francisco Church, and Fray Manuel Ruiz spoke in the convent of Santo Domingo.[482] Martinez Compañón's body was reportedly buried in the presbytery of the Bogotá Cathedral, but this burned to the ground several times after his death. During one of the various reconstructions, the tomb was moved and somehow lost. Today its whereabouts are unknown -- just like the vast majority of the documents from his time in Bogotá. Presumably these the flames that consumed the Cathedral destroyed them as well.[483]

Measuring Failed Projects, Weighing Unexpected Successes

As he feared, it was true that when Martínez Compañón died, many of his ventures in Trujillo languished along with him. The vast majority turned out to be little more than

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[479] Peréz Ayala, *Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda, Prelado Español de Colombia y el Peru,* 131.
[480] Ibid, 133.
[481] Gómez Latorre, "Una Semblanza Historica: El Arzobispo Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón y Bujanda", 648
[482] Manrique, "Acción de Martínez Compañón en Perú y Nueva Granada."
[483] This information was conveyed to me by Cathedral staff. Perez Ayala and the other Colombian historians have presumably worked mainly from Peruvian documents and Martínez Compañón' funeral orations.

failed projects. Does this mean that his only legacy is one of incompletion, bureaucratic backlog, and a lack of royal funding? A major emphasis of *The Science of Empire* has been to demonstrate that his plans for a practical utopia in Trujillo were not successful, but this does not mean they are useless subjects of inquiry. In designing his blueprint of improvement for Trujillo, Martínez Compañón responded to local circumstances with the tools available to him. These included an intimate knowledge of the peninsular reform literature of Spain, a familiarity with the broader eighteenth-century culture of the practical Enlightenment, an extensive but flawed network of ecclesiastical and secular bureaucrats, and an interested but impoverished local population. Within those paradigms, he did the best that he was able.[484]

As was true for almost any reformer of the early modern period, one of the biggest problems Martínez Compañón faced was a lack of funds. Although he did not directly complain of or acknowledge the economic barriers to his agenda, he was undoubtedly aware of them. As an educated and well-informed crown representative he was surely not surprised that funding a school for Indians in the remote intendancy of Trujillo, Peru was less important than protecting Spanish trade from British interlopers. He was also well aware that finding local funding for his projects was an equally difficult proposition. For instance, when he suggested raising money for his schools by implementing a sin tax on liquor, his proposal was effectively extinguished by years of bureaucratic neglect and dispute. While in Bogotá he had different results in that he was able to rely more on support from local elites to fund projects like the girls' school at La Enseñanza; for the most part Trujillo's wealthy, such as the miners at Hualgayoc, were not in the position to donate large sums of money to charitable projects. Although local indigenous and mestizo communities claimed their willingness to support his reforms with small annual contributions, in the end they too were unwilling or unable to do so.

Other issues besides economic difficulties affected Martínez Compañón's plan to remake Trujillo into a prosperous plebeian utopia. While it seems to have functioned reasonably well in Colombia, in Peru the all important patron-client system of

[484] For more on failed projects in the Spanish context, see David R. Ringrose, *Spain, Europe, and the 'Spanish Miracle,' 1700-1900* (Cambridge, 1996).

bureaucratic negotiation often failed.[485] This is most salient in the case of the Bishop's troubled relationship with Intendant Francisco Saavedra, who repeatedly deflected his proposals through blocking or ignoring them, only to tell him bitterly "this kingdom, as Your Illustriousness knows, has the disgrace that no one does anything, except for his particular interest."[486] Although he was not openly antagonistic, Viceroy Croix simply seemed too busy to concern himself much with a busybody bishop in the provinces. His multi-year response times to Martínez Compañón's anxious queries are a clear indication of this indifference.

Neither did the patron-client relationship function well with the Chief Justice of Cajamarca, who opposed the plan to create the settlement of Bambamarca because he feared that in such an egalitarian environment workers, would lose sight of their subordinate social status, creating problems for elites and officials. A mutually beneficial relationship might also have been forged with the powerful miners at Hualgayoc who clearly viewed the Bishop as a possible patron who could bestow favors. However, when Martínez Compañón denied their requests for *mita* laborers, instead proposing a more humane but inevitably less profitable work arrangement, they turned against him, providing him with false information about the local landscape and attempting to block business agreements that would necessary for Bambamarca's operation. Although these lower-level patron-client relationships with the Chief Justice and the Miners are more directly antagonistic than the Bishop's relations with Saavedra and Croix, in general Martínez Compañón seems to have been unable to find a place for himself in the tangled and complex bureaucratic network of Trujillo. Perhaps he pictured himself like his self-designated mentor, Santo Toribio, who had worked so single-mindedly on behalf of Peru's Indians that he alienated himself from other authority figures.[487] It does indeed seem that many of the Bishop's proposals were simply too radical for the taste of those

[485] I was encouraged to think of Martínez Compañón's efforts in this way by the work Sharon Kettering. Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York, 1986).This is a point of analysis that I intend to enrich in manuscript revisions.
[486] "Intendant Saavedra to Martínez Compañón, Trujillo, December 11, 1789." Trujillo: Archivo Arzobispal, Comunicaciones Eclesiásticas, Expediente K-1-17.
[487] Napoleon Mogrovejo Rojas, *Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo - defensor del Indio Americano* (Caracas, 1985).

who already found themselves in power. Yet he remained a firm advocate of the poor, the disadvantaged, and the uneducated.

Another factor that impeded the reform projects was the difficulty of communication across deserts, provinces, and oceans. Travel in Trujillo was arduous. The interminable rainy season and the lack of roads in the Bishopric meant that travelers, letters, and news arrived slowly and erratically. This made gathering and receiving information, such as in the case of the new towns, extremely difficult. Sometimes, a carefully chosen location for a new venture turned out to be insupportable once the townspeople actually set foot in the new land and found it had no reliable water source or insufficient fertile agricultural land. The 1784 implementation of the Ordinance of Intendants in Peru was another factor that tripped up communication among local authorities. Although the new Bourbon bureaucratic structure was theoretically more efficient and streamlined than its Hapsburg predecessor, the change from *corregidores* to intendants overturned established ways of doing business, resulting in inevitable obstacles and conflicts. Martínez Compañón's conflicted relationship with Intendant Saavedra is indicative of this discord.

Even if the necessary communication was not the main impediment reformers like Martínez Compañón faced, they also had to realize that in many cases their reforms were simply impossible to enforce. The Bishop likely understood very well that the success of his programs such as separate bedrooms for male and female children and proper dress for women would rely upon the local population's desire to conform, and perhaps the weight of influence local officials, parish priests, and area elites had over the plebe. There was no way he could personally ascertain whether his regulations were obeyed. He must also have realized that despite his best efforts to instruct the Indians in the "language of the King," there was no way to oversee what words families used at home. It was equally impossible to ensure that children said their prayers properly every day, or even to see that those attending mass fully understood and followed the principles of Catholic dogma. Such social matters formed the foundation of his blueprint for improvement, yet they were entirely unenforceable even under the best of circumstances.

If these were the factors that negatively affected the political economy reforms of the Bishop's science of empire, what were the issues facing his natural history investigations? By the most common standards of scientific investigation – publication, dissemination, and employment of practical information – his ethnographic, botanical, and archaeological investigations failed. Officials distributed his collections to different institutions and today only a handful of the ceramic pieces in Madrid are definitively recognized as a part of his collections. Many of the dances, songs, and indigenous costumes recorded in volume two of *Trujillo del Perú* soon vanished with the cultures that created them. All of his dedication to botany also seems to have produced few tangible results. *Chonta* seeds never became a popular substitute for cocoa, and *mugues* was never marketed as a cure for syphilis. The main design of botanical investigations in the overseas kingdoms was to generate profit for the Spanish crown through new food crops, medicinal plants, or commercial trade items. Although Martínez Compañón presented a multitude of suggestions in all of these arenas, there is no indication that the Crown ever took advantage of the information he provided. Despite his ardent efforts to cultivate a bio-contact zone of information exchange with local inhabitants, the results of his investigations were underutilized and forgotten. Perhaps it was fear of continental European condemnation of this very Spanish-Indian collaboration that motivated royal assistants to stash away the nine volumes of watercolors on a dusty shelf of the royal library.

Any worthwhile assessment of this failure to publish scientific data must arise from contemporary conventions, not those of the twenty-first century. While to the modern observer this may seem like an especially unfortunate end to a painstakingly compiled scientific work, it is unlikely that Martínez Compañón or any of his contemporaries would have been surprised by the lack of public knowledge of or response to his natural history. Although technically under the Bourbon kings, "science was in, secrecy was out,"[488] the Spanish government did not promote widespread circulation of scientific works. Martínez Compañón's natural history was by no means

[488] Richard L. Kagan, with Fernando Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven, 2000), 87.

singled out as necessitating subterfuge or concealment. Rather, it was representative of a general trend of maintaining such information in a private environment. Although there were by some estimates 57 natural history voyages made by Spaniards between 1760 and 1808,[489] Spanish natural history works were rarely circulated in published form, and Spanish and Spanish American scientists remained largely unknown outside of the Hispanic intellectual universe.[490]

To many historians of science, this failure to follow European standards of information dissemination signals a definitive problem for the science of the Hispanic Enlightenment. For some, it also seems to provide a valid reason to exclude Spanish and Spanish American science from studies that might in fact benefit from examining it.[491] But new work on the intellectual culture of early modern Spain and the Atlantic world transforms our understanding of the importance of unpublished manuscripts in disseminating information.[492] Fernando Bouza has most clearly explained how this scribal culture flourished in Spain's Golden Age, where a scorn for untrustworthy printers and adulterating translators and editors proliferated. As a commodity prepared for sale and public consumption, printed material was thought to be deceitful. In the Hispanic world, this conception carried over into the eighteenth century, even after typeset printing became more widely accessible. Manuscripts were the preferred form of correspondence with important authority figures, such as the King and his court. Writers

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[489] Daniela Bliechmar, "Painting as Exploration: Visualizing Nature in Eighteenth-Century Colonial Science," *Colonial Latin American Review* 15 (June, 2006).

[490] On the private nature of Spanish scientific research overseas, see Iris H.W. Engstrand, *Spanish Scientists in the New World - the eighteenth-century expeditions.* (Seattle, 1981).

[491] For instance, although Richard Drayton's Nature's Government compares the British imperial science enterprise with that of other European powers, it disregards the Spanish efforts. Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven, 2000).

[492] For Spain, see Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, ed. Foreword by Roger Chartier, Sonia López and Michael Agnew trans. (Philadelphia, 1999). and Jonathan Earl Carlyon, *Andrés Gonzáles de Barcia and the Creation of the Colonial Spanish American Library* (Toronto, 2005.) On manuscript culture in the British Atlantic, see Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (Chicago, 1998) and David Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill, 1997.) Here I was also influenced by Jorge Cañizares' review of Carlyon in *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 42 (Winter, 2007.)

in this realm behaved modestly, writing only for the sake of knowledge and not public recognition.[493] If they were to actively pursue publication, they would lose this honor.

As an erudite man and a dedicated client preparing work for the most powerful patron in his intellectual universe, Martínez Compañón would most likely have preferred that his nine volumes remain largely private works, unadulterated in their content. Interestingly, this reasoning may have also related to his ultimate decision not to include a written work with the nine volumes. Daniela Bliechmar has convincingly argued that as the eighteenth century progressed, natural history became an increasingly visual discipline, and in fact it became quite common to publish natural history books that featured only images. In the contemporary mindset, more so than images, text was subject to the reader's interpretation. Text in a natural history work might not adequately convey the specimen in question, and the reader of the words might not understand them as their author had intended. Images, however, were not subject to the same vagaries. Images were better sources of primary information which scholars could use as primary sources on which to base their studies.[494] Martínez Compañón must have had this in mind when he decided the nine volumes of *Trujillo del Perú* were ready for shipment to Madrid, even though they still lacked a written explanation.

Another important aspect of early modern Hispanic manuscript culture that may surprise modern observers is the frequency with which publishers altered, added to, or revised written information. Jonathan Carlyon's study of Andrés Gonzáles de Barcia explains this well; Barcia, he argues, never intended to be a famous author known for his own ideas. Instead, he presented himself as an editor who quietly inserted his original material mainly in footnotes and indices of editions he prepared. What does this tell us about Martínez Compañón? Understanding how information was commonly shared and disseminated in this fashion helps to explain one of the great controversies of Martínez Compañón's legacy and demonstrates how information could be made public through a variety of channels. In his 1966 biography of Martínez Compañón, Ruben Vargas Ugarte

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[493] Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain.*
[494] Daniela Bleichmar, "Visual culture in eighteenth-century natural history. Botanical illustrations and expeditions in the Spanish Atlantic." (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2005), especially chapter three.

surmised that Martínez Compañón had intended to create a written volume to accompany the collection of watercolors, that he was never able to complete this project, but a friend of his had seen a fragment of it in the National Archive in Bogotá. He then mentioned the possibility that a nephew of Martínez Compañón, José Lecuanda, used it to write his "Geographical Description of the City and Partido of Trujillo," which appeared in the *Mercurio Peruano* on May 16, 1793.[495] He later published similar descriptions of Piura and Cajamarca, discussing geography, cities, the outfits, occupation, and customs of local inhabitants, flora, fauna, and all of the same themes as Martínez Compañón's nine volumes.

6.2 Gato Montés.

[495] Ruben Vargas Ugarte, *Tres Figuras Señeras del Episcopado Americano* (Lima, 1966), 189.

Did Lecuanda "steal" the information his uncle spent ten years compiling? Indeed, there are many similarities between his articles on Trujillo and the information Martínez Compañón presented in his work. A majority of the animal, plant, and bird species Lecuanda discusses are portrayed in the nine volumes, including the fierce-looking "gato montes," which Lecuanda described as having the "cruel habit of destroying entire flocks of animals without eating their meat, only to suck their blood."[496] He also mentioned the anteater, guinea pig, penguin, seahorse, and dolphin, all of which are included in the watercolors. All of the botanical specimens mentioned by Lecuanda, including the *pai pai* tree and the *ajonjoli* or sesame plant, come directly from volumes three and four of *Trujillo del Perú*. The connections between Lecuanda's work and that of his uncle are undeniable.

However, there are differences between the two as well, and these are sufficient enough to suggest that the impertinent nephew did not simply transcribe his elderly uncle's field notes and present them as his own. For instance, Lecuanda's article includes other animals, such as the ferret, which are not portrayed in the nine volumes. His population statistics do not match his uncle's; they are indicative of a later census, presumably done closer to 1793, when Lecuanda published his article. (Martínez Compañón compiled his population statistics during his *visita*, which ended in 1785.) The most notable difference, however, are Lecuanda's decidedly unfavorable views of Trujillo's Indians, which do not mesh with the Bishop's statements in any way. "Much to its disgrace," Lecuanda wrote, "this Nation [of Indians] has not yet completely done away with idolatry. Its old religion was to adore the sun, and give praise to the devil." This behavior, he reasoned, was why they had seen "various plagues that had decimated them," plagues which were "permitted by Providence for their punishment."[497]

In the end, any careful reader of Lecuanda's publications cannot fail to notice the direct attributions he pays to his episcopal uncle. He praised his uncle for founding the Trujillo Ecclesiastical seminary and for personally supporting the seminarians with ten pesos a month each from his own pockets. He mentioned that his information on the

[496] Joseph Ignacio de Lequanda, "Descripción geográfica de la ciudad y partido de Trujillo," *Mercurio Peruano* 8 (1793), 53.
[497] Ibid., 48

animals of Trujillo came from the "precious investigations" of the Archbishop of Santa Fé, who "while being Bishop of Trujillo, traveled this Diocese, uniting with his apostolic labors his most exact philosophical observations about the three Kingdoms of Nature."[498] So if Lecuanda did not attempt to pass his uncle's work off as his own, what can we make of his use of it? When viewed within the context of the early modern Hispanic culture of information, employing information gathered by his uncle to create his own article was nothing extraordinary or scandalous. In fact, Lecuanda's use of Martínez Compañón's information can be seen as one of the most vibrant successes of Martínez Compañón's work. Through his nephew, Martínez Compañón's studies of the people and resources of Trujillo came to be known to a broader audience of *ilustrados* throughout the Spanish empire. This was one way that his research succeeded and entered the public sphere.

Although Lecuanda's articles in the *Mercurio Peruano* include no images, it seems that he was in fact inspired by the watercolors of the nine volumes as well. In 1799, two years after his uncle's death, he commissioned a painting entitled "Quadro de Historia Natural, Civil, y Geográfica del Reyno del Perú" from a Peruvian painter named Luis Thiebaut.[499] The painting hangs today in Madrid's Museum of Natural Sciences. Although it features many small images arranged on one large canvas, the style and iconography of the images is remarkably similar to that of the watercolors of *Trujillo del Perú*. In her brief analysis of the image, Daniela Bliechmar remarks that in the painting, "the natural, civil, and geographical history of the kingdom complement one another. Flora and fauna are presented in conjunction, united in the same image. The pictures of people attempt to provide a total view of Peru's inhabitants, presenting them as separate but connected."[500] This description could readily be applied to an overarching interpretation of the nine volumes of *Trujillo del Perú* as well. Martinez Compañón's nephew therefore helped to disseminate his work both with text and with paintings.

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[498] Ibid., 53
[499] Although she does not draw the link between Lecuanda and Martínez Compañón, this painting was brought to my attention in chapter six of Daniela Bliechmar's dissertation, "Visual culture in eighteenth-century natural history. Botanical illustrations and expeditions in the Spanish Atlantic."
[500] Ibid., 215

In addition to elaborating on the complex information-sharing relationship between uncle and nephew, background information on the manuscript culture of the early modern Hispanic world helps to contextualize Martínez Compañón's natural history in other ways. Here the work of Paula De Vos on the importance of "amateur" scientists and collectors in colonial Spanish America is especially important. Although those operating under typical European scientific standards might not designate the dilettante scientists De Vos studies successful *per se*, she convincingly argues otherwise. She suggests that historians look beyond a bean-counting approach that tabulates only profits. Instead, she proposes assessing Hispanic natural history investigations in terms of the rich intellectual networks and academic cultures they engendered. She stresses that while it is exceedingly difficult and sometimes impossible to directly determine how the Crown utilized a newly "discovered" plant, American botanical products inevitably expanded the repertoire of exports and the botanical medicines available for pharmacists. Finally, she argues that medicines newly discovered in the Spanish territories could "provide a moral justification for Spain's efforts,"[501] just as proof of successful political economy projects could highlight the benevolent and beneficial nature of Hispanic imperial rule.

All of these arguments can be readily applied to the Bishop's natural history research. He was able to create a network of local informants in his rich bio-contact zone. He engaged his friends and parish priests in helping to compile the information. When he finished the projects, he received the necessary approval from Intendant and Viceroy, and secured their passage on ships returning to Spain. IN Spain, administrators accepted the nine volumes, then showed them to the King, who after viewing them with his own eyes described them as "precious cargo." Writing through his ministers in a message to Viceroy Croix, he also thanked his functionary for delivering them, and said that he was "very satisfied with the punctuality of the prelate in collecting them."[502] In

[501] Paula S. De Vos, "Research, Development, and Empire: State Support of Science in the Later Spanish Empire," *Colonial Latin American Review* 15 (June, 2006), 69.
[502] "Letter to Martínez Compañón, El Escorial Palace, 29 October, 1789." Sevilla: Archivo General de Indias, Lima 978: Cartas y expedientes: curiosidades para el Jardín Botánico.

contrast to what happened with the political economy initiatives, here his network functions readily.

Although these connections and acquaintances did not produce any notable public dissemination of the information the Bishop provided, in its own way and on its own terms it was effective. His multitude of suggestions for new food plants, dyes, and medicines undoubtedly expanded the range of specimens available to Spanish exporters and pharmacists. Just as Martínez Compañón's political economy efforts showed the people of Trujillo as flourishing under Spanish rule, the natural history research proved that Spaniards in the American provinces sought to cure and feed people just as much as they hoped to make themselves wealthy with mineral resources.

What should we make of the ethnographic research of volume two? How were these quotidian images "successful"? Although it is not immediately apparent, as an intellectual venture, they did succeed in their aims. While not every plebe of the province may have dressed properly, regularly attended church, or slept in a proper European-style bed each night, depicting them as if they did inspired confidence in past efforts and undoubtedly helped garner support for future ones. Volume two's utopian portrait of Trujillo emphasized that the locals were not barbaric Indians, rebellious peasants, or corrupt criminals. Rather, they were industrious, hardworking simple people – the type of people who could adequately manage the industry, agriculture, and commerce of their little corner of the world in order to generate profit for themselves and for the Spanish crown. Furthermore, the images portray the people of Trujillo as happily existing within Hispanic social norms and administrative structures; the towns feature Indian mayors and the Spanish-Indian hybrid custom of *padrones*. Even in their diversions they are European and well mannered. By creating a visual record of this Trujillo, even if it was only seen by a limited audience, Martínez Compañón definitively succeeded at his goal of recognizing and memorializing the people of Trujillo whom he cared about so deeply. Furthermore, although this accomplishment might not have been immediately appreciated by his contemporaries, modern ethnomusicologists, folklorists, and anthropologists all rely on the images of volume two of *Trujillo del Perú* as some of the most informative sources on late colonial Northern Peru.

If these are the hidden positive legacies of the Bishop's natural history projects, what are the other aspect of his imperial science and his political economy agenda? Here direct influence is much more difficult to trace. Reformers throughout the Hispanic empire and the Atlantic world shared ideas, created similar schemes, and often worked towards very similar goals. Just as some of Martínez Compañón's plans had similarities with those previously created by peninsular reformers who came after him reflected his plans.[503] These comparisons and continuities are strengthened by the "long-nineteenth century" approach to Latin American history, which demonstrates that although the Bourbon monarchy no longer had direct influence over the new Spanish American nations, the incentives and ideas of the Bourbon reformers of the Hispanic Enlightenment remained. For instance, Sarah Chambers studies how in Arequipa, many Bourbon reform initiatives continued, sometimes with greater success, after independence. These included the establishment of a public library, widespread vaccination campaigns, and efforts at crime prevention.[504] She discusses a contemporary of Martinez Compañón, Bishop Chavez de la Rosa of Arequipa, who served from 1788 to 1805. Like his counterpart in Trujillo, Chavez de la Rosa visited his diocese and suggested a variety of commonplace reforms to combat the social ills he observed. Likewise, young women who dressed immodestly especially perturbed him. However, instead of simply appealing to their sense of modesty from the pulpit, Chavez de la Rosa tried to coax the young ladies of Arequipa into proper dress by mandating that if young men passed such provocatively dressed women in the street, they should shame them by calling out "*ave maria*" – an order which, Chambers notes, the boys

[503] Ruben Vargas Ugarte has argued that Martínez Compañón's agenda is particularly noticeable in the early national period efforts of Domingo Sarmiento. Like the Bishop of Trujillo, the president of Argentina was an ardent educational reformer. His influence in public primary education was so great that he has been called the "Horace Mann of South America." Like Martínez Compañón, he was concerned with the education of girls because as mothers and wives, young ladies could wisely influence their children and thus shape the destiny of the nation. Dorothy Penn, "Sarmiento – 'School-Master President' of Argentina." *Hispania* 29 (1946), 386-389. Michael A. Rockland, "Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 12 (1970), 271-279.

[504] Sarah C. Chambers, *From Subjects to Citizens: Honor, Gender, and Politics in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1854.* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1999).

"eagerly took to an extreme."[505] Like many Bourbon Bishops, Chavez de la Rosa had difficulties in implementing his reform plans, especially since his ecclesiastical cabildo resented him as an outside authority figure. During the colonial period he was ridiculed or mocked, in the early republican period, "there was a sense that independence had shattered the ordered colonial world...and [like] classic liberals everywhere, authorities in Arequipa increasingly emphasized the importance of individual discipline,"[506] so they turned to the Bourbon reformers who had specialized in such projects. It seems impossible that Martínez Compañón would not have exercised a similar influence over the minds of the early republicans in Trujillo.[507]

While Chambers takes a largely positive approach to the influence of enlightened reform schemes to order the plebe, in his recent work *Crisis Atlántica*, José Portillo offers a more skeptical analysis of how the projects of enlightened reformers influenced nineteenth-century liberals. He argues that men such as Fray Matias de Córdova, a Dominican university rector from Chiapas who had a plan to "dress and shod" the Indians that was quite similar to Martínez Compañón's Hispanicization efforts, "were contributing to the creation of a dividing line between progress and backwardness, according to which assimilation was linked to the first, while resistance to [assimilation] was thought to be an enemy of civilization and commerce, essential values of progress."[508] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, both peninsulars and creoles capitalized on the discourse of Indian incivility. Peninsulars held it up as an example of why Spanish America could not function without Spanish rule. Conversely, creoles used this discourse to argue that if the Indians were currently uncivilized under the influence of Spanish colonialism, when taught by independent creoles they would be able to attain a satisfactory level of civility. They thought that this would prove that the Spanish Americans were capable of self-government. Portillo argues that these ideologies reached their culmination in the Spanish Constitution of 1812 and the

[505] Ibid, 130.
[506] Ibid., 159
[507] Exploring these connections in the post-independence period is a goal of my manuscript revisions.
[508] José M. Portillo Valdés, *Crisis Atlántica: Autonomía e independencia en la crisis de la monarquía Hispana* (Madrd, 2006), 214.

resulting political culture, in which tribute was outlawed but Indians still remained separate and inferior under the rule of law. These constitutions defined a citizen as someone who had successfully conquered their "Indianness." In so doing, they were continuing a tradition that had originated with Enlightenment reformers like Martínez Compañón.

What does Portillo's circumspect portrayal of the legacy of the Bourbon reformers of the Hispanic Enlightenment mean for our study of Trujillo? Although the Bishop certainly envisioned Trujillo's Indians and popular classes as prosperous plebeians who knew their rightful place as workers, there is no documentary evidence that like Fray Matias, he believed that a lack of proper clothing and shoes indicated a propensity towards bad character and criminal activity. Many of the Indians in *Trujillo del Perú* are barefoot, but they are shown as obedient vassals, hard at work in their designated trades. Fray Matias believed that civilization had to be forced on Indians. Martínez Compañón, on the other hand, *invited* Trujillo's masses to participate in a Hispanic style life, by offering --but never forcing – education, guidelines for etiquette, and preparation in work skills.

The enlightened reformers and nineteenth-century liberals Portillo studies conceived of Indians as exotic specimens, or as living remnants of ancient cultures which would soon be entirely extinguished. In Trujillo, Martínez Compañón Hispanicized the Indians rather than exoticizing them. Instead of valuing them as the last representatives of a dying race, he celebrated the architectural, pottery, and textile achievements of their ancestors. But most importantly, by placing the plebeian classes of Trujillo within the Hispanic world of work, production, and commerce, the Bishop demonstrated that they were capable of understanding, accepting, and even reproducing the eighteenth-century culture of improvement in their own little corner of the vast Spanish empire.

The Last of a Dying Breed:

Martínez Compañón and the Destruction of the Church-Crown Allegiance

Although he admittedly faced a wide array of barriers to his plans, throughout his life Martínez Compañón was able to count on the support of the highest levels of the Spanish crown and royal administration. It was the royal ministers, after all, who decided to promote him to Archbishop of Santa Fé. Along with Chavez de la Rosa, Francisco Lorenzana, and the other enlightened prelates of late Bourbon Spain and Spanish America, Martínez Compañón was part of a privileged group of elite ecclesiastics who were also trusted functionaries of the Spanish Crown. The power they exerted over their areas of jurisdiction was in many cases theretofore unseen. As secular prelates with no possibly conflicting allegiances to order superiors elsewhere in Europe, they were viewed as much more trustworthy than the members of the religious orders, and thus spared the first round of crown attacks against the church. Unlike the Jesuits, the Enlightened prelates were clearly favored clients of the Spanish Crown, and they responded in kind, ordering, repairing, and Hispanicizing America and its people. Some scholars have even argued that in many ways, they were largely responsible for the maintenance of peace in the American viceroyalties.[509] However, this privileged status would prove to be fleeting. As the 1790s progressed, these same individuals would find their jurisdiction threatened when the Bourbon administration turned against the very prelates who had supported it so readily. How did this happen and what did it mean for the Bourbon prelates?

Most essentially, the late colonial attack on the Catholic Church was a result of Spain's economic desperation. Although Charles IV and his ministers initially believed they had inherited a stable, productive Spain, in fact they assumed too much. In John Lynch's estimation, Charles III had failed at both of his main objectives – to modernize Spain and to increase its power on the global stage. His successor was a weak ruler with little interest in politics. In response to the anti-absolutist turmoil of the French

[509] See David Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico - The diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810* (Cambridge, 1994), William J. Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874* (Cambridge, 1984), Nancy Farris, *Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico 1759-1821. The Crisis of Ecclesiastical Privilege.* (London, 1968).

revolution, the King's controversial favorite Manuel de Godoy, broke the sixty year family compact that had united the Spanish and French Bourbons when he declared war on the French in 1793. When the war ended in 1795 and Spain restored good relations with France, the two reunited allies fought against Britain. Spain fared much worse in this conflict, losing a good deal of naval control and effectively being cut off entirely from its main source of wealth – its American possessions. The wars against France and Britain meant that from 1793 to 1808, Spain experienced what John Lynch has called "almost uninterrupted warfare" which resulted in unprecedented fiscal crisis.[510]

In an economic climate such as this, elaborate plans for reform such as those envisioned by Martínez Compañón had little place. At the same time, peninsular officials recognized that although Spanish America also faced financial struggles, it possessed more abundant resources in terms of labor, agriculture, and mining. Royal officials soon concluded that the far-reaching power of the Catholic Church and its Bishops in America inhibited royal administrators from successful exploitation of the American provinces. First, in 1749, the religious orders lost control of their Indian doctrinas, when the crown transferred them to secular priests who often were much less familiar with the culture and language of their native diocesans. In 1766, the Jesuits were blamed for a riot in Madrid and expelled from all of the Spanish provinces. Nuns had to abandon servants and private quarters in order to live a more humble common life. Next, the crown turned on the high clergy, imposing new taxes on prelates, especially for those who were working their way up the ladders of their local ecclesiastical cabildos. In 1774, royal officials attempted to install their own accountants in Cathedral offices in order to ascertain if Bishops were sending the royal ninth of their income the Crown had always garnered. This proposal so enraged the clergy that it was eventually retracted. Next to go was ecclesiastical immunity, in 1795.[511]

While American ecclesiastics opposed all of these drastic measures, none were as divisive as the attack on church property. After the 1795 publication of Gaspar Jovellanos' *Report on the Agrarian Law*, in which he criticized the Church's right of

[510] Lynch, *Bourbon Spain, 1700 - 1808,* 395.
[511] For a good overview of this process, see Brading, *Church and State in Bourbon Mexico - The diocese of Michoacán 1749-1810*.

mortmain (or perpetual, nontransferable, non-salable ownership of property) this reached a fever pitch. On September 19, 1798, Godoy decreed that the government could sell the property of charitable institutions at public auction in order to benefit the Crown. Then in 1804, the Crown ordered that the Church divest itself of all unused property holdings in America and return the profits to the royal treasury. David Brading has characterized the clampdown on church power in this period as "an unprecedented assault," one that was managed by "ministers and officials who prided themselves on their enlightened views [yet] exhibited a growing envy of clerical wealth and feared the clergy's influence over the faithful."[512]

If Martínez Compañón and the Bourbon prelates understood all along that the most basic premise of the Bourbon reforms was to increase state power at whatever expense – including their own, why did they so willingly acquiesce? Margaret Chowning proposes a pair of explanations. Most pragmatic is the possibility that the clergy knew if they did not obey and support reforms that penalized the religious orders or sapped ecclesiastical income, they might lose even more of their power than they had already. But more optimistically, Chowning also recognizes the possibility that the prelates fully believed in the reforming agenda of the Bourbon crown.[513] Martínez Compañón's utopian ideologies and Enlightenment optimism clearly suggest that he wholeheartedly supported the Bourbon plans to modernize and Hispanicize America. He must have stood so strong in this conviction that he held his tongue when faced with royal assaults on his own autonomy, such as the demand for more church income from Trujillo the decree that he answer to Intendant Saavedra, and not directly to the Viceroy, as he had in the past. The final years of Martínez Compañón's life find him to be an increasingly old-fashioned figure that stood on the cusp of what may be considered the most meaningful transition of power in colonial Spanish America. Only a few years after his death, fiercely loyalist prelates like himself would no longer be the norm. The situation between many American prelates and the Spanish crown eventually deteriorated so

[512] Ibid, 8.
[513] Margaret Chowning, "Convent Reform, Catholic Reform, and Bourbon Reform in Eighteenth-Century New Spain: The View from the Nunnery," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85 (2005), 1-37.

much that superiors asked Bishop Fabian y Fuero to resign after accusing him of disobeying royal orders, and they eased Archbishop Lorenzana from his position as well.[514] While Martínez Compañón never faced such a direct attack on his powers, he surely was aware that the universe in which he existed was quickly changing. Perhaps it was this understanding (along with his failing health and increased ecclesiastical responsibilities as Archbishop) that led him to limit the scope and frequency of his reform activities in Bogotá. Regardless, in a matter of years, the accommodating, collaborative relationship Martínez Compañón and many Bourbon prelates had with the Spanish Crown would disappear forever. It would be replaced by an antagonistic relationship between the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown, a dysfunctional and increasingly volatile pairing which would provoke even greater turmoil in the newly independent Spanish American republics.

[514] Callahan, *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874,* 75.

Figure 6.3. A Funeral Arrangement

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